VIET NAM VICTORY OF PEOPLES WAR
—Special 4-page supplement

April 25, 1985 Vol 27, No. 17 25¢

workers world

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Largest rally ever rocks South Africa regime

By Carmen Roundtree

APRIL 16—The growing South African revolution made gains both inside and outside the apartheid state last week. Despite brutality and bullets, the mass of Black people came out in even greater numbers to challenge the racist regime. Acting out of desperation, the South African authorities wavered between small concessions and vicious repression.

In the U.S., which is Pretoria's most powerful backer, widespread and militant student protest demanded Washington and Wall Street cease this support, while Congress was pressed into proposing measures to counter Reagan's all-out backing of the South African racists.

On April 13 in South Africa 60,000 people turned out for a mass funeral rally

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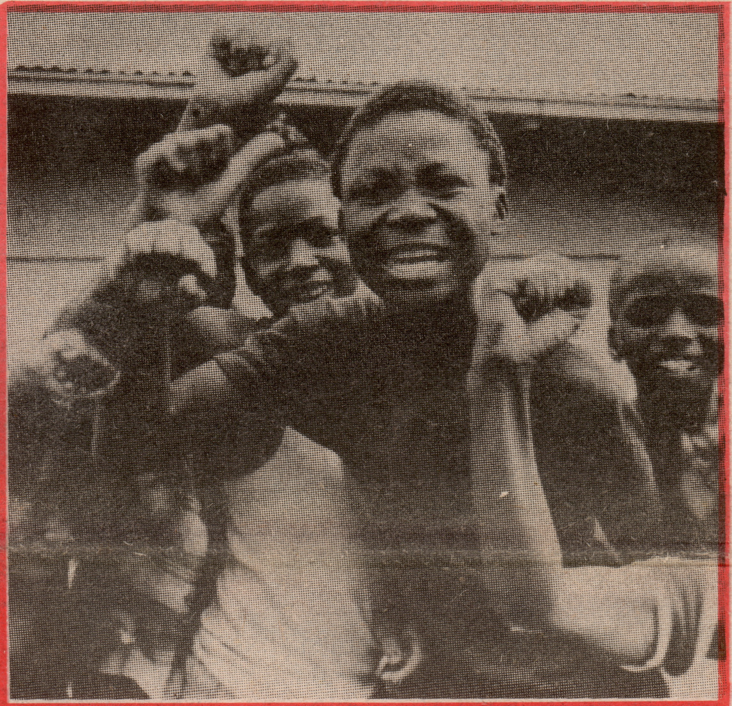

Youth in South Africa are determined to win.

Anti-apartheid protests in 26 cities across U.S. Below, Jesse Jackson speaks at Columbia University. See pages 4-5.

WW PHOTO: NEVILLE EDWARDS

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Sam Marcy on:
Convergence of economic and political crises —p. 13

Police attack on Berkeley protest meets student resistance

By Johnnie Stevens

BERKELEY, Calif., April 16—Acting on instructions from the University Board of Regents, police swarmed onto the Berkeley campus here early this morning to arrest over 140 of the students who had been sitting in at Sproul Hall in protest of the university's investments in companies doing business with apartheid South Africa. Instead of quelling the student protest, the police action drove hundreds to fight back in self defense and aroused thousands more into active support of the student demands.

Last night, the Board of Regents gave in to one of the earlier student demands, agreeing to take up the question of divestment at their scheduled May 16-17 meeting. Having done this, they then declared the ongoing student sit-in illegal. But the students were determined to continue the protest until the rest of their anti-apartheid demands were met.

The police moved on campus at 7:30 a.m., tearing down the anti-apartheid signs, confiscating blank-

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Auto executives' pay hikes—hogs at the trough

By David Sole
UAW Local 15

DETROIT, April 14—Auto workers throughout the country were angry enough last month when General Motors announced that "profit sharing" for each worker would amount to only $515 before taxes. It was GM's best year ever, with over $4.5 billion in profits and at contract ratification time in September 1984 workers were told the figure would top $1,000 each.

But the announcement last week of the salaries paid to the top executives of the Big Three auto makers really has them steaming on the shop floor.

GM Chairman Roger B. Smith took home a whopping $1.6 million—and this does not include stock options! This is up 25% from 1983.

Retired Ford Motor Chairman Philip Caldwell raked in a little less: "just" $1.58 million. Not to worry, though. He won't have trouble paying his rent since his stock option brought him an extra $2.5 million.

But it is Chrysler's loud mouth chairman Lee Iacocca who took home the turkey. After all these years of griping about high costs, and pushing concessions down the throats of the workers, Iacocca has the nerve to carry off an unbelievable $13 million! This includes $570,000 salary, $625,000 bonus, stock option profits of $4.32 million, and $5 to $10 million more on additional stock options available to him before May 15.

Other top executives at all three companies also took home plenty of loot, many with million dollar or more incomes for 1984.

Chrysler workers must be especially upset, since the company refused to reopen their contract earlier this year. The workers reopened their contract during the period of corporate losses to give up huge concessions. But now, with Chrysler showing big profits in 1984, the workers have found it doesn't work the other way around.

While anger among the ranks is growing, the United Auto Workers' top leadership has been mild in its criticism of these outrageous salaries. About the strongest words Donald Ephlin, head of the union GM department, could come up with was "insensitive."

Yet at almost the same time as the salaries were made public, General Motors announced that their foundry in Pontiac, Mich., would be closed down. The reason given for disrupting the lives of thousands of workers was to "consolidate" operations for reasons of "efficiency." The Pontiac Foundry workers had given several rounds of contract concessions under fierce GM pressure over the past several years. They mistakenly believed that their sacrifices would keep the plant open.

Nationwide People's Fight Back conference gains support

By Bruce Bradshaw

April 16—"People want to talk with us about the plant and school closings, about police abuse and what's happening in South Africa and Central America," Jerry Goldberg told Workers World. An activist with the All-Peoples Congress, Goldberg is organizing in Baltimore for the upcoming nationwide People's Fight Back Conference that will be held in that city on June 8-9.

"We've got leaflets and posters out all over town for the pre-conference meeting we're having here on April 27th," Goldberg continued, adding that soundcars would soon be going out into the neighborhoods, "especially the Northwest area." The All-Peoples Congress recently carried out a successful campaign in this neighborhood that stopped the Baltimore transit authority from cutting back bus services to the people who live there.

The All-Peoples Congress has been active since its founding in 1981 in fighting the Klan and the Nazis in Washington D.C. and California, struggling for gay rights in Rochester and welfare in Milwaukee, mobilizing people against heat shut-offs in Chicago and hospital closings in Atlanta and Jersey City, defending seniors' rights in Cleveland, the homeless of Philadelphia and the undocumented workers of Houston.

The June 8-9 conference at the Baltimore Civic Center will bring together activists from all these struggles across the country and from the anti-war movement, to map out the strongest strategy for the growing battle against Reaganism. In charting a perspective for the mass struggle, grassroots fighters from around the country will be looking for the most effective and imaginative ways to unite the campaign for economic justice with the fight against Pentagon militarism. In building unity between the anti-racist and anti-war movements, the Baltimore Fight Back Conference will help advance both struggles. The conference is being jointly sponsored by the All-Peoples Congress and the People's Anti-War Mobilization.

For more information about the Baltimore meeting contact the All-Peoples Congress national office in New York City, 19 W. 21st St., 7th Fl., New York, New York 10010 or call (212) 741-0633.

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NICARAGUA

The Nicaraguan government has declined Reagan's latest demand that it commit suicide. And the Congress, nervous about the lack of public support for deeper intervention, is hesitating to give the CIA more contra funds. (Page 6.)

NAZI GRAVES

Reagan's determination to go through with his plan to honor a cemetery for members of Hitler's First SS Panzer division is consistant with his other racist and reactionary policies, which include backhanded support for apartheid and for a West German regime full of old Nazi sympathizers. (Page 3.)

VIET NAM WAR

Ten years have passed since the Pentagon's defeat in Viet Nam. What was the role of anti-war militants at home? Is it true that the U.S. soldiers were "not allowed to win?" Is there a link between the struggle in Viet Nam then and South Africa today? And what of the MIA issue? (Special Issue, pp. 7-10.)

ELEANOR BUMPURS

A New York City judge has thrown out the case against a white cop who emptied his shotgun point blank into a 66-year-old Black woman. Eleanor Bumpurs' only crime was being late on her rent. (Page 15.)

Students fight apartheid

WW PHOTO: NEVILLE EDWARDS

AUTO BOSSES

While the top auto executives are awarding themselves multi-million-dollar bonuses each, auto workers' "profit-sharing" has been cut by half. (Page 2.)

WHITE HOUSE SHAKEUP

Reagan says that the latest White House shakeup is aimed at "efficiency," but the ultra-right is hailing it as a victory for their own clique within the administration. (Page 3.)

ENVER HOXHA

Sam Marcy examines the future of Albania following the death of Enver Hoxha. Marcy concludes, "We look forward to the reunification of the socialist countries in a socialist commonwealth of nations." (Page 12.)

SOUTH AFRICA

As South Africa witnessed the largest demonstration in history against that country's fascist regime, the government there has responded with meaningless concessions. Washington is hailing these superficial changes. But people here in this country aren't buying it. Anti-apartheid demonstrations have taken place on 300 campuses and in 26 major U.S. cities this month. (Pages 1, 4, 5.)

CRISES CONVERGE

The economic stagnation of the U.S. steel industry, the devastating overproduction in agriculture and the oil glut, the shift to debtor nation status and banking instability, all point to a convergence of economic and political trends which propells the U.S. ruling class toward war as a means of extricating themselves. (Analysis by Sam Marcy, p. 13.)

WW PHOTO: NEVILLE EDWARDS

Jesse Jackson at Columbia, before picture of Nelson Mandela.

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workers world

Vol. 27, No. 17/April 25, 1985
Closing news date: April 17, 1985

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Workers World (ISSN-0043-809X) published by World View Publishers, 46 W. 28 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10010. Editorial office (282) 206-8222. Business office: (282) 255-0352. Published weekly except first week in Sept.

Subscriptions: One year: $10.00; 6 months: $6.00. Address requests for bundles to World View Pub.

Second Class Postage Paid at N.Y., N.Y.

What's behind the White House shakeup?

By Sharon Shelton

APRIL 15—In a move that dramatigan, not the President, who came up treme right wing in the administration, Ronald Reagan announced last week a major reorganization of the White House.

The reorganization eliminates seven Cabinet councils, each currently headed by its own secretary, and puts in their place two new councils to be overseen by White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan, who came to the Reagan administration from the prominent Wall Street financial house, Merrill Lynch.

Already, Regan's position as Chief of Staff is a powerful job, entailing handling day-to-day administrative decisions and sitting on both the Cabinet and the National Security Council. His position is similar to that held by prime ministers in Western European governments.

This shuffle, however, enlarges the power enjoyed by Regan and thereby the big Wall Street bankers and industrialists he directly represents. It should be no surprise that it was Regan, not the president, who came up with the reorganization scheme in the first place.

Heading the two new councils that Regan will oversee are arch-rightist Edwin Meese and James Baker. Baker, who, like Meese, came into the White House with Reagan in 1981, will head a Cabinet-level group on national and economic policy.

Top cop to coordinate housing, education, health and human services

Recently named Attorney General after a bitter struggle with Congress, Meese will at the same time head a council on domestic and social policies. The new job will enormously strengthen the hand of this law-and-order fanatic who loves to boast of his rank as colonel in the reserves and who has ties to the military-industrial complex as a former executive at Rohr Industries. Rohr is an aircraft part supplier for the Pentagon.

The naming to this new position of Meese, who once sneered that the hungry who stand in line at soup kitchens are just "greedy for free food," will enable him to coordinate the formulation of policy for the Departments of Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Education, Energy, Interior and Transportation in addition to the Justice Department which he heads.

These new powers amassed by Meese were immediately hailed by Edwin J. Fuelner Jr., president of the notorious Heritage Foundation, a reactionary rightwing think tank, started in 1973 with major financial help from strike-breaker and Nazi sympathizer, industrialist Joseph Coors.

"Mr. Meese is one of our heroes," Fuelner told the New York Times (April 14), "and has been for many years."

Nixon speechwriter named

The reorganization of the White House comes at a time when another extreme rightist and ardent proponent of militarism, Patrick J. Buchanan, is assuming more and more importance in the White House.

In a surprise move, Reagan appointed Buchanan two months ago to the post of director of communications. At present, Buchanan, a former speechwriter for Nixon and a reactionary syndicated columnist, oversees all White House speeches and is responsible for some of Reagan's recent outrageous utterances such as his calling the contra butchers "our brothers" and the "moral equivalents of our founding fathers."

In addition, Buchanan has had direct input into key issues including the MX, Reagan's veto of emergency farm support and the administration's drive to get more aid for the contras to be used in the effort to overthrow the revolutionary Nicaraguan government.

In fact, since his appointment, Buchanan's influence has skyrocketed, according to a White House official quoted in the April 11 New York Times. "On the White House Staff," the official explained, "second to Don Regan, Buchanan's the most important guy around."

Apparently Reagan and his bigoted big business backers aren't bothered by the fact that Buchanan has openly slandered Black and other oppressed peoples, has branded the women's movement "feminist idiocy," has called abortion doctors "butchers," has described AIDS as "nature's revenge" on gay people and has arouse the fury of Jewish people for his role i pushing for the abolition of a Justic Department office in charge of track ing down Nazi war criminals in th U.S.

Reagan claims this reorganization was carried out to make administration decision making "more efficient." In reality, however, the White House shuffle represents the further intrusion of big business and the military-industrial complex into direct control of government at a time of capitalist instability and preparation for war.

Reagan and Nazism: A revealing slip

By Deirdre Griswold

APRIL 15—Is it just an insensitivity to symbolism? Or was Ronald Reagan being true to the substance of his rightwing political views when he decided to schedule a visit to a Nazi cemetery in West Germany while refusing to go to Dachau, the infamous death camp where so many Jewish people were murdered?

The cemetery at Bitburg houses the graves of many SS officers, Hitler's elite corps who were responsible for some of the most despicable atrocities committed by the Nazis during World War II. Reagan's decision—and it has been reported that the President himself worked out the itinerary for his West German visit—has drawn bitter criticism from many Jewish groups and even the stolidly conservative American Legion, representing veterans of that period.

The standard bourgeois view of World War II is that all the Allies went to war against Germany because they abhorred Nazism and wanted to see it wiped off the face of the earth. But this view leaves so much unaccounted for.

Why did the U.S. import and rehabilitate so many Nazi officials, scientists and technicians after the war—people like the homicidal Dr. Mengele, who is reported to have received U.S. help in escaping from Europe?

Why is Washington so friendly to South Africa, whose apartheid structure is built on the premise of racial superiority just like the Nazis' ideology? (The present South African leaders were strong supporters of Nazism during the war.)

Why did the U.S. and the other capitalist powers fighting Germany leave the death camps intact during the war while closing their doors to Jewish refugees from the Holocaust? They knew what the crematoria were. Why didn't they bomb them? Or try to destroy the railroad lines into the camps?

Divided into socialist and capitalist Germany

When the war ended, Germany was divided into two states having different social and economic systems. In the East, where the Soviet Red Army had defeated the Nazis, a socialist state was built. It expropriated the holdings of the rich and removed all the Nazi collaborators from positions of power. The new leaders had all been in prison or exile during the war. Hundreds of thousands of their comrades in the Communist and Social Democratic parties had been murdered by Hitler, who targeted the left as soon as he came to power.

But West Germany was a different story. The same capitalists who had backed Hitler remained in control of the economy after the war. And while the most notorious Nazis were tried at Nuremberg, most of the members of Hitler's state apparatus were able to find anonymity and live comfortable lives, despite the horrendous crimes they had participated in.

Slave laborers' bodies stacked at Nazi work camp.

Reagan is no anti-fascist

Some in the bourgeois press here are trying to excuse Reagan by saying he just wants to "heal the wounds" between Germany and the U.S. by pleasing the West German government of Helmut Kohl. But what does this say about Kohl? His Christian Democratic party, despite its cleaned-up name, is full of old Nazis and their descendants. It is the party of the ruling class in West Germany, and that ruling class hasn't changed since Hitler's time.

Despite the roles Reagan may have played in World War II movies, the President is no anti-fascist. In fact, his administration is loaded with people who politically are in sympathy, at the very least, with the far right. And while in the U.S. this doesn't always mean associating with the trappings of Nazism, it often enough is linked to vicious anti-Semitism, regardless of the U.S. government's long-standing support of Israel as a militarized buffer against the Arab people.

So Reagan's decision, outrageous as it is, should not come as such a big surprise. Of course, he may yet be forced to revise his itinerary in a political gesture to the groups that have expressed such dismay over this move. But his original intention, of honoring Nazi officers while ignoring their victims, is consistent with the anti-people, pro-war policies of Reaganism.

And, by the way, don't ever, ever expect Reagan or even any of the "liberal" representatives of U.S. monopoly capital to pay homage to the millions of working class fighters, trade unionists, Communists and Socialists, and gays and lesbians who were among the first to be rounded up and murdered in Hitler's death camps.

Anti-apartheid protests sweep campuses across U.S.

By Andy Stapp

APRIL 15—CIA recruiting on campus; U.S. corporate investments in South Africa; cuts in education aid to pay for more weapons; American policy in Central America.

These issues, all seemingly diverse but in reality deeply intertwined, have sparked a resurgence of campus activism by college students all around the country.

For the past month, protests, many of them militant, have been erupting on campuses which have long been politically dormant. And these actions are targeting some very sensitive issues.

Take the apartheid connection. At Western Michigan University, Berkeley, Columbia, Harvard and 300 other schools, this has pitted thousands of students against university boards of trustees and regents who pretend to find South African racism "repugnant" and "deplorable" but refuse to put their money where their mouths are by cancelling university investments in business firms which turn a profit in this fascist slave state.

University of Mass. and Rutgers

Undergraduates at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst seized the main administration hall to press for disinvestment in early April and on April 12 Rutgers students chained and padlocked the front doors of the student center to bring attention to this issue. Other students at Rutgers blocked traffic on College Avenue, greeting the cops with jeers and catcalls when they moved in to make arrests. The more than 120 who are sitting-in at the student center have announced that they will continue their protest "for as long as it takes."

As U.S. corporate support for South Africa comes under fire, anti-militarism is also on the rise, particularly in relation to U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Nine students were recently arrested by Massachusetts District Commission police during a cop attack on a march against the U.S. war in Central America, against apartheid and Reagan's budget cuts.

The 25% reduction in student aid evoked a Washington, D.C., demonstration of 2,000 students chanting "Books not bombs!"

Hundreds arrested in Colorado and Wisconsin

Growing anger over Reagan's incessant threats against the Sandinistas has taken many forms. At the New School campus in New York City, four representatives of the Pentagon's War college were driven away by a crowd chanting "Murderers!" and "USA, CIA, out of Nicaragua!" At the University of California-Berkeley, the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) building, which had been the target of many anti-war activities, was simply burned down one night.

Last week Princeton students, invited to hear Secretary of State Shultz try to justify the administration's anti-Nicaragua crusade, humiliated him with gales of scornful laughter when he repeated the standard lies. And even as the embarrassed Shultz ran back to Washington, students at the University of Colorado were assembling to block CIA recruiters from their campus. Four hundred and seventy of these students were arrested.

CIA efforts to recruit at the University of Wisconsin in Madison also touched off an uproar on April 11 as cops sprayed 100 protesters with chemical mace when the students tried to break through a police barricade to get at the recruiters.

During the late 1970s, all the conservative and reactionary elements in U.S. society were heaving an audible sigh of relief about how wonderfully "quiet" and "businesslike" the campuses had become compared to the 1960s. From the looks of the past few weeks, however, there is plenty of evidence that the period of student apathy which gave such solace to the Reaganites is over.

WW PHOTO: NEVILLE EDWARDS

Medgar Evers College students support blockade at Columbia.

Outside Columbia's "Mandela Hall."

WW PHOTO: NEVILLE EDWARDS

—South Africa

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to bury 29 of the 45 people murdered by the police on March 21, the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre.

This was not just a funeral. It was the largest gathering of the oppressed masses in South Africa's history. It was a mass political rally marked with fiery speeches, militant chanting, freedom songs and dancing.

People had come from more than 500 miles away, arriving by bus, truck and car. They poured into the soccer stadium in Kwanobule, while hundreds of helmeted and armed police and army personnel lined the roads.

When the 29 coffins were carried into the stadium, they were placed on a table and draped with the green, black and gold banner of the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC is the organization that has been leading the freedom fight in South Africa for over 70 years. An honor guard of youth saluted the coffins with clenched fists and the crowd, packed shoulder to shoulder, sang freedom songs.

Colorful banners filled the stadium with slogans denouncing the racist system of apartheid and the brutal police murders. One banner read, "Botha-Reagan-Thatcher, three sides of the same coin," referring to U.S. and British support being given to the Botha regime in South Africa.

The funeral service lasted six hours. When it was over, the coffins were carried shoulder high through the streets to the cemetery. Preceding them was the youth honor guard, clenched fists high in the air, marching through a dense crowd of people who lined the streets.

The police and army did not enter the Black township, because, in the words of the New York Times reporter, "they seemed rather intent on avoiding" the massive angry crowd.

Regime flails around

The government is showing signs of desperation, signs that its once seemingly monolithic control is cracking. One sign was the sudden announcement on April 15 that the apartheid laws against marriage and sex between couples of different races are to be "dismantled."

That the government is now offering as a "concession" the ending of such obviously ridiculous laws, while leaving intact all the essential parts of the apartheid system, is a sign that it is grasping for straws in an attempt to keep from sinking. As Winnie Mandela, the "banned" wife of Nelson Mandela, imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, recently asked, "In what other society do people need to legislate against their own urges?"

Another such "concession" is the widespread attention given to the government inquiry into the Uitenhage massacre. Score after score of witnesses testify and rebuff the lies of the racist police who opened fire and murdered 45 Black people on March 21. The police themselves contradict one another and give damaging testimony in order to absolve themselves of the responsibility for the massive killings.

Moves in Washington

In Washington, widespread national opposition to Reagan's coddling of the South African regime has finally moved congressional Democrats to propose bills denying loans to South Africa, forbidding import of South African gold coins, barring new U.S. investment and prohibiting the sale of computers to the Pretoria government.

Even these half-measures were attacked by Secretary of State Shultz, who defended the Reaganite policy of giving material and military backing to Pretoria as "a force for constructive, peaceful change," argued that significant reforms were taking place, and claimed that "there is now less cross-border violence than there has been in 11 years."

Meanwhile, the fascist Pretoria regime continues to sweep through Black townships, shooting at all who oppose their racist apartheid system. At least 10 people have been murdered by the police in the past week, and two were slain just 24 hours before the mass funeral. More than 300 Black people have died at the hands of the apartheid regime since September.

Yet the oppressed masses in South Africa, determined to recapture their freedom from the Hitler-like fascists in Pretoria, continue to pour into the streets. They have defied the bans and the warnings and the brutality. With each act of state terrorism, the people become more defiant; the more they are restrained, the hungrier they are for their freedom.

No amount of lies, trickery or deceit will allow the apartheid government to hold on forever. Along with their backers in Washington and London, they are covered with the blood of the people and are destined to crumble beneath the mighty blows of the people of South Africa.

Columbia students: 'Our struggle is just'

By Neville Edwards

NEW YORK, April 16—The militant struggle goes on against Columbia University's board of trustees' economic support for the racist regime of South Africa. Fourteen rainy days and cold nights have not dampened the militancy of the students who are blockading Hamilton Hall, a building on campus that the students have renamed **Mandela Hall.** "We know we are right because the Black South African people are with us and the world thinks we are just," said one blockader.

Regular rallies held every evening on campus at 5:30 have sometimes swelled to as many as 700 people. Many from the Black and Latin communities in Harlem, South Bronx and other parts of the city have come to express their support.

Last Thursday a delegation of 50 Black hospital workers from Local 420 of AFSCME marched from their union office on 125th Street to the campus. On the same day over 100 Black vets marched from Harlem to show solidarity with the students. And City College, located in Harlem, showed its solidarity by sending a delegation of Black and Latin students to Columbia.

Blankets and food have been brought up from Harlem and Pearl, a Black woman from Harlem, has been coordinating food for the students. "The strength of the Black people in South Africa and the selflessness of the students is what motivates me," she said. Pearl has been with the blockade since it started. Black and Latin families, high school and other colleges students have also joined the blockade.

Jesse Jackson speaks to rally of 4,000

The strength of the students' blockade was evident when, braving continuous rain, over 4,000 people attended a noon-time rally April 15. Cleveland Robinson of UAW District 65 and a member of the Labor Committee Against Apartheid, told the cheering rally, "We fight for human rights and economic rights as one, whether it is here in the U.S. or in South Africa."

Hanging out of windows and rooftops ten stories high, students listened as Jesse Jackson, the main speaker, supported their effort to help end apartheid. Both speakers made it clear that it was the anti-war protests that helped to pull the U.S. out of Viet Nam. These same kind of protests today will help pull the U.S. out of South Africa. "South Africa is not standing today because of the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe or Cuba, but because of the aid of the U.S.," charged Jackson.

After consulting with the students, Jackson later met with University President Michael Sovern. Later at a press conference, where a portrait of Nelson Mandela provided the backdrop, Jackson stated that Sovern agreed to meet with the other Ivy League presidents to see what they could do to end apartheid.

"What we need is a firm commitment of Columbia's intention to divest and nothing short of that," stated Anthony Glover, a member of the students coalition steering committee.

The University administration has been harrassing the students in any way they can. They have instituted a policy making it hard for the community to support the students. They are denying everyone except students enterance to Hartley Hall where the bulk of the organizing is done. But as one student said, "We will find ways around that because we need the support of the community."

Students willing to sacrifice

The willingness to sacrifice in order to aid the struggle against racial oppression marks the determination of the students. All the foriegn students participating in the blockade are Black students from South Africa and the Caribbean. Being a member of the Coalition for a Free South Africa, Jose deSouza, a Black South African, has been one of the eight Black students charge with contempt.

DeSouza faces the possibility of being deported back to South Africa where it is an act of treason and punishable by death to support divestment. But the students have expressed that they knew it was going to be a hard fight and as one student stated, "if it is raining bullets on the Black South African children, then whatever the price we have to pay is

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WW PHOTO: NEVILLE EDWARDS

Hospital workers' union backs Columbia action against apartheid.

Berkeley students: 'Divest now!'

By Jane Cutter

SAN FRANCISCO, April 13—The anti-apartheid struggle has gripped the Bay Area with militant and significant actions taking place once and even twice a day.

On April 13, over 350 students gathered on the steps of Sproul Hall at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) to demand divestment in a rally organized by the UC Divestment Coalition.

Solidarity with Columbia students

At the end of the hour-long rally, approximately 75 young protesters, inspired by their sisters and brothers at Columbia, spontaneously remained seated at the top of the steps and refused to move, calling for "complete and immediate divestment of all university funds invested in corporations and banks doing business in South Africa."

Other demands, formulated later, include demands that the Board of UC Regents make their decision on divestment at their May 16-17 meeting instead of at a meeting during summer vacation; that the meeting be held in an easily accessible part of campus; that there be a public hearing on divestment before the Regents meeting and that all charges be dropped against the UC 5. The UC 5 were among 38 anti-apartheid protesters arrested at a Dec. 7 blockade of University Hall. Their charges are still pending.

Sit-in grows

In four days, the number of protesters spending the night at the sit-in grew to 300. Rallies Thursday and Friday got larger each day. Students are currently building for another rally on April 14.

Community and student support is strong. The mostly women and oppressed workers inside Sproul Hall support the demands of the sit-in. Members of AFSCME, the union which represents UC workers, have spoken at campus divestment rallies.

A local pizza store has brought the protesters dinner, and the University Students Cooperative Association, a housing group of 1,800, officially donated food, as have many individuals from the community. In addition, the Associated Students of UC (ASUC)—the student government—has passed a resolution in support of the sit-in.

Friday's rally, over 1,000 strong, was sponsored by the Campaign Against Apartheid and United People of Color. Johnnie Stevens of the U.S. Out of Southern Africa Network of the All-Peoples Congress addressed the students, calling for a strong anti-apartheid presence at the April Actions.

Other speakers were Maxine Waters, State Assemblywoman; Gus Newport, mayor of Berkeley; Merle Woo, Asian lesbian instructor at UCB; and Eric Nakano of United People of Color. Nakano showed how the university's racist support of apartheid was reflected in the small representation of Third World people on campus.

Other Bay Area actions

On Thursday, nearly 200 trade unionists from Central Labor Councils in seven counties militantly marched against South African Airways. The multinational workers, women and men, showed their spirit with chants like "South Africa will be free!"

Fourteen union leaders were arrested for blocking the doors as workers picketed. Jimmy Hermann, president of International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), spoke. ILWU members conducted an inspiring action last December as they refused to handle South African cargo for 10 days.

Also this week, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed two resolutions for the full implementation of Proposition J, a voter initiative passed to divest city pension funds from companies doing business in South Africa. The Retirement Board, which handles the pension money, refuses to respect the decision of 62% of the voters.

One resolution called on the Retirement Board to implement J. The other called on pro-business Democrat Mayor Dianne Feinstein to use her influence over the Retirement Board, three of whose seven members are appointed by the Mayor. Millionaire Feinstein, under pressure from the anti-apartheid movement, not only signed the resolution, saying she would lobby the Board, but also announced that she would sell her own thousands of dollars of profitable stock holdings supporting apartheid.

On the steps of Berkeley's Sproul Hall. WW PHOTO: STEPHANIE HEDGECOKE

—Berkeley

Continued from page 1

ets used by the students to keep warm and forcibly removing students from the building and the steps, holding them spread-eagled and dropping the youth on their faces.

The rough treatment by the cops got an angry response. By the time a second bus full of arrested youth began to move from the hall, some 300 others surrounded it, fighting with the police and holding the bus to a crawl for two blocks until it broke away. They continued to battle the police as the cops surged back on campus.

The battle attracted more sympathetic students and faculty, and those left began to put up the signs again and restart the rally. A separate sit-in began at the Student Association Hall, this one made up mostly of Black and Asian students. Then some 400 back at Sproul Hall started hollering "Strike!" and began a march to the other sit-in, chanting "UC-U.S.—out of South Africa!" as they went across the campus.

3,500 at noon rally

Two hours later, when this group marched back to Sproul, they found another 100 had begun the sit-in on the steps again. By the time of the noon rally, 3,500 students, faculty and others were present, more than double the number there yesterday. Everyone on campus, even those not actively participating, wore the red ribbon symbolizing solidarity with the struggle against apartheid.

The original 140 arrested were charged with "illegal blockage and assault on police officers," the latter charge arising because the cops had to cover their own brutality. When the student association demanded these students be released, they too were arrested. By the end of the day, some 165 were being held by the police.

Support for the students continues to grow. The San Francisco Teachers and Faculty Against Apartheid endorsed the Berkeley rally. The Alameda County Labor Council, representing 100,000 workers, and SEIU Local 250 declared their support for the sit-in and promised to participate.

Another rally is scheduled for 8:00 p.m. tonight on campus. The actions of the Board of Regents exposed the university complicity with apartheid. Rather than give in to the simple demands of the students for divestment, they called in the police to rough up the youth, and turned a demonstration of anti-apartheid sentiment into an open student revolt.

Nicaragua rejects Reagan's surrender demand

By Andy Stapp

APRIL 15—"What President Reagan has said is: 'You drop dead or I'll kill you.' "

That's the assessment of Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto on hearing Reagan's latest diktat against his country.

The Reagan proposal gives the Sandinistas until June 1 to agree to bring back into government the agents of the dictatorship which the Nicaraguan people overthrew with such great sacrifice and loss of life in 1979. In addition the President is demanding that "both sides lay down their arms" as a prelude to "returning to the goals of the revolution that both the contras and the Sandinistas fought for."

Reagan pretends not to know that the Sandinistas led the revolution while the contras fought against it. He's good at that sort of thing.

At his April 5 press conference, the President stated that the contras are in "desperate straits." It is true that after more than $80 million in U.S. aid, the counter-revolutionary forces have failed to seize and hold any part of Nicaraguan soil.

So why should the legitimate government elected by the Nicaraguan people feel compelled to make concessions at the negotiating table to fascist bands who have been so singularly unsuccessful on the battlefield?

The answer, of course, is that the rightist rebels are only a front for the U.S. military. The Somoza National Guard contras are now being reinforced in Honduras by the Texas National Guard and 5,000 other American troops. In addition, the Pentagon has another 10,000 in Panama and an unknown number in Puerto Rico.

The Nicaraguan government is fully aware who is the puppet and who the master in this dirty charade and, as one Sandinista leader recently said, "We will not talk to the dogs, but to the owners."

Hirelings of reaction

Dismissing the contras as "hirelings of the American government," Foreign Minister d'Escoto immediately branded Reagan's latest ultimatum ordering the revolution to embrace the counter-revolution as "absurd."

"His fundamental objective is the overthrow of the Nicaraguan government," d'Escoto said of Reagan.

"Now the great communicator is finding out that he has been unable to persuade the American people to go along," the Foreign Minister added.

A recent ABC/Washington Post poll showed that 70% of those asked opposed these attempts to crush the Sandinistas.

There's the problem. The Reaganites and the Pentagon have publicly committed themselves to the destruction of all insurgencies everywhere in the world which threaten U.S. political, economic and military interests. And Nicaragua is right at the head of their hit list.

Another war without public support, however, scares them and raises the specter of a Viet Nam-type fiasco.

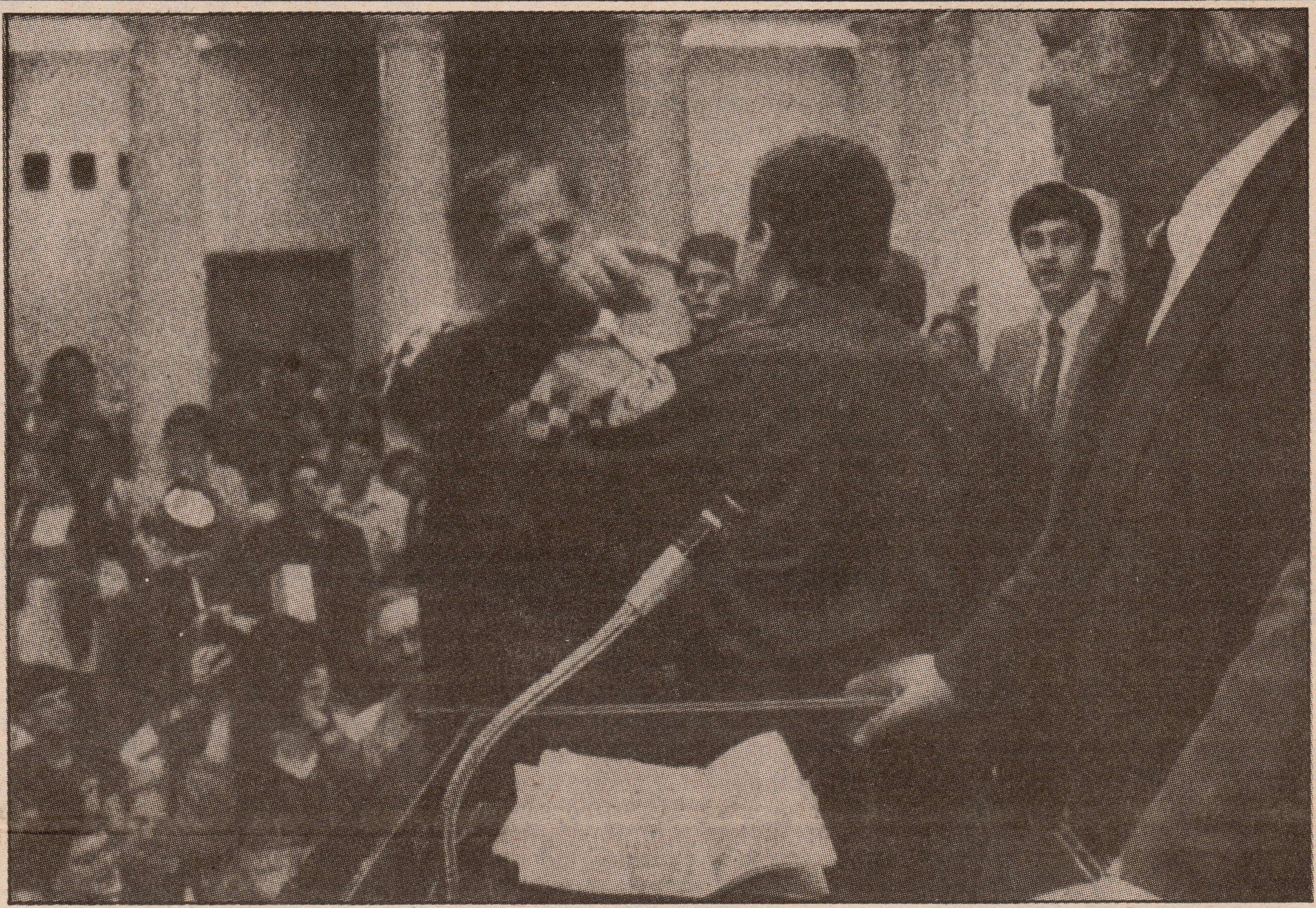
Last November, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger laid out the view of the generals and admirals on how to deal with this contradiction.

"Before the U.S. commits combat forces abroad," he said, "there must be some reasonable assurance that they will have the support of the American people and Congress." That's why Reagan is leaning so hard on the Senate, which will vote on a bill April 23 to continue CIA funding for the contras. He wants a pro-war vote.

The Nicaraguans would like to see this funding rejected, but they are not pinning all their hopes on it.

A recent commentary by the Nicaraguan News Agency noted that the U.S. Congress can not be relied upon to fight imperialism since the imperialist system itself represents a "whole world view which is absolutely in their interest."

Whichever way the vote goes on the contras, the people of Nicaragua are looking to their own defenses in preparing for the possibility of a full scale U.S. attack.



Contra chased off campus. Hundreds of protesters crowded into a meeting hall at Northwestern University in Evanston, Ill., on April 13 and stopped contra boss Adolfo Calero Portocarrero from speaking. Shouting "Nicaragua, si! contras no!" and "Fascists have no right to speak!" the students and their supporters denied the U.S.-backed terrorist any opportunity to spread his lies and build support for the U.S. war on the Nicaraguan people. The longtime CIA agent and former manager of Coca Cola in Nicaragua was forced to flee the University after being doused, appropriately, with "butchers blood." The photo above shows All-Peoples Congress member Bill Massey confronting Calero.

—Beth Semmer

LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN BRIEFS

PERU. Voting in Peru on April 14 showed a broad shift to the left. According to early vote counts, the social-democratic party APRA got 47% of the popular vote for the presidency, putting it for the first time in its existence in contention for leading the government. Running second was the openly Marxist mayor of Lima, Alfonso Barrantes of the United Left, a coalition which includes social-democratic and a number of communist parties. Barrantes will also be in the run-off election, which is scheduled for June. The party that had been running the government took huge losses.

Like many other countries in Latin America, Peru has been pushed into adopting unpopular austerity measures by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), aimed at guaranteeing payment of the huge foreign debt, in this case of $13 billion. The electoral program of the APRA calls for defying the IMF agreements by this nation of 18 million.

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GUATEMALA. Over 1,000 people braved the military dictatorship and extra-legal death squads to march on the national palace to demand an end to the killings that in the past three weeks have ended the lives of twc leading activists on the local Human Rights Group. Two U.S. Congressmen cancelled a visit to observe the Human Rights march after the U.S. Embassy warned them they might by killed by the right wing. Despite these murders and the systematic extermination of Indian communities, the Reagan administration has recently blessed the Guatemalan regime for "improving" its human rights record in this nation of 8 million.

The Guatemalan dictator, President Oscar Mejia Victores, who seized power in 1983 in a military coup, was forced April 11 to cancel a state visit to the Vatican and the Middle East last week in order to deal with growing protests against harsh economic measures he attempted to impose earlier in the week.

Mejia suspended the measures, which included tax increases, tariffs of up to 50% on imported goods and a one-third increase in interest rates.

• • •

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. April 24 marks the 20th anniversary of the 1965 mass popular uprising to restore constitutional government following a 1963 military coup. This popular revolt was able to set back the Dominican military, but was drowned in blood by an invasion of 23,000 U.S. Marines, more forces at that time than the U.S. had in Viet Nam. Then President Johnson explained the U.S. aggression by saying he wanted to prevent "another Cuba" in the Caribbean.

The years of U.S.-imposed governments following the military intervention were marked by increased economic penetration by U.S.-based multinational corporations and banks, and most recently by a large growth in the Dominican foreign debt. When the Santo Domingo government attempted to enforce an IMF-imposed austerity program last April 1984 in order to try to squeeze the debt payments out of the Dominican workers, the people answered with a national protest of mass proportion. The government then called out the police and army to repress the protest; some 60 people were killed, hundreds others jailed, injured or "disappeared."

The basic causes of last year's revolt remain. The government has continued repression, so that union leaders and militants in the opposition parties have been forced into hiding. Another popular explosion is considered imminent.

—John Catalinotto

—Columbia

Continued from page 5

small in comparison."

The students also won the right to continue their blockade when Judge Bruce Wright, a Black judge, extended the restraining order calling on Columbia not to interfere with the blockade. "Invoked during the arguments heard this day, were the ghost of Eleanor Bumpurs and the spirit of Nelson Mandela," said part of the statement issued by Judge Wright. The students also won a postponement of the contempt charge brought aganist them by the University.

The resoluteness of the students has drawn other people into the struggle. The faculty has formed a coalition against apartheid. The graduate students have joined the blockade and the university staff has been very active in their support for the blockade.

To mark the second week of the blockade the students have planned a march from 96th Street and Broadway and one from 125th Street and Lenox Ave. (the Harlem State Office building) to converge on the campus.

workers world
X-523 Special Issue

VIET NAM

THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR

By Deirdre Griswold

THE VIETNAMESE Tet Offensive was in February 1968. It took five more bloody years before Nixon finally signed the Paris Peace Treaty, and yet another two years before the war in Viet Nam came to a close with the virtual collapse of the Saigon regime.

U.S. generals like Westmoreland may still claim that Tet was a defeat for the Vietnamese liberation forces, but in their own councils they have acknowledged that it was a stunning moral and political victory for the National Liberation Front (NLF).

Tet was really a general uprising of the Vietnamese people that proved the resistance was everywhere. The U.S. occupiers were so caught by surprise that a heroic detachment even captured the first three floors of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon and raised the NLF flag there. U.S. planes were blown up right in their hangars at the major air bases; the city of Hue was in the hands of the NLF for several weeks.

The Vietnamese fighters knew that it was impossible at that time to force an immediate withdrawal of the half-million U.S. troops occupying their country. But Tet was the turning point that convinced many in the U.S. ruling circles there was no way they could win the war in Viet Nam.

It also exposed the lie that the war was to "help the Vietnamese resist Communism" and that the problem was "an invasion from the North." The Tet Offensive was by and large the work of local militias who appeared to have sprung from nowhere because they were fighting in their own villages, on their own turf. General strikes in many cities multiplied the impact of the military offensive and showed where the masses stood.

Why, then, did it take so long for the leaders in Washington to finally withdraw U.S. troops from Viet Nam? Since they knew they couldn't win, and were only alienating an ever-larger section of the population here and abroad with each new bombing wave, each new My Lai massacre, why did they persist in brutalizing Viet Nam, why did they invade Kampuchea (Cambodia) in 1970, why did they widen the CIA bombing of Laos?

Phony 'Domino Theory'

The reason given was the "Domino Theory." As the idea of establishing a stable regime in Viet Nam under the despised Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky became more ridiculous, the global significance of the war became the excuse for continuing the slaughter. President Johnson's adviser Walt Rostow put it this way: "We are the greatest power in the world—if we behave like it." Assistant Secretary of Defense John McNaughton said the objective in Viet Nam was "to avoid humiliation." Henry Kissinger said, "We are fighting for ourselves and for international stability."

They said Viet Nam was a test of "American resolve" in the struggle against communism. Viet Nam was only a "third-class Communist peasant state," said Kissinger contemptuously, which made it all the more important for the U.S. not to back down.

In those final years of the war, tens of thousands of GIs died and several million Vietnamese, Kampucheans and Laotians perished, all to satisfy the global objectives of U.S. imperialism. If the Vietnamese could not be conquered, then they would be subjected to such horror that an example would be set for the rest of the world.

The level of bombing in Southeast Asia soon far exceeded the entire tonnage dropped in World War II. Toxic chemicals laid waste to the land. The destruction would assure that in Viet Nam, even if the U.S. troops left, there would be poverty and hardship for many, many years to come.

The "Domino Theory" mixed truth with falsehood. It acknowledged that the example of the Vietnamese struggle was likely to spread to other countries. But the mechanism for this would be a conspiracy, a deception practiced by unscrupulous radicals bent on world domination. Anti-communism had been a staple of U.S. propaganda for so long that the imperialists felt they could terrify the population here with such a prospect and gain support for the war.

This view of the world is thoroughly racist and arrogant toward the workers and oppressed. It tries to deny 1) that it is the unbearable conditions created by colonial and imperialist oppression that lead to revolutions and national liberation struggles; and 2) that the oppressed can think for themselves and choose what kind of society will meet their needs.

One big problem with the "Domino Theory" was that it never could explain why the Vietnamese, who were only supposed to be "pawns" in a global power-play, would fight with such incredible heroism, against such overwhelming odds. Why couldn't the Saigon puppet troops match their morale, their determination? They were from the same nation, were better fed, better clothed, better armed, and yet they didn't want to fight, while 10-year-old kids and 80-year-old grandmothers were ready to die for the NLF.

Morale stronger than laser missiles

Morale can be a very big factor in warfare, indeed. In a revolutionary war, it can be the overriding factor, as it was in Viet Nam. In the Viet Nam war, morale proved stronger than laser-guided missiles, stronger than helicopter gunships, stronger than Agent Orange, stronger than B-52 carpet bombing, stronger than napalm and white phosphorus.

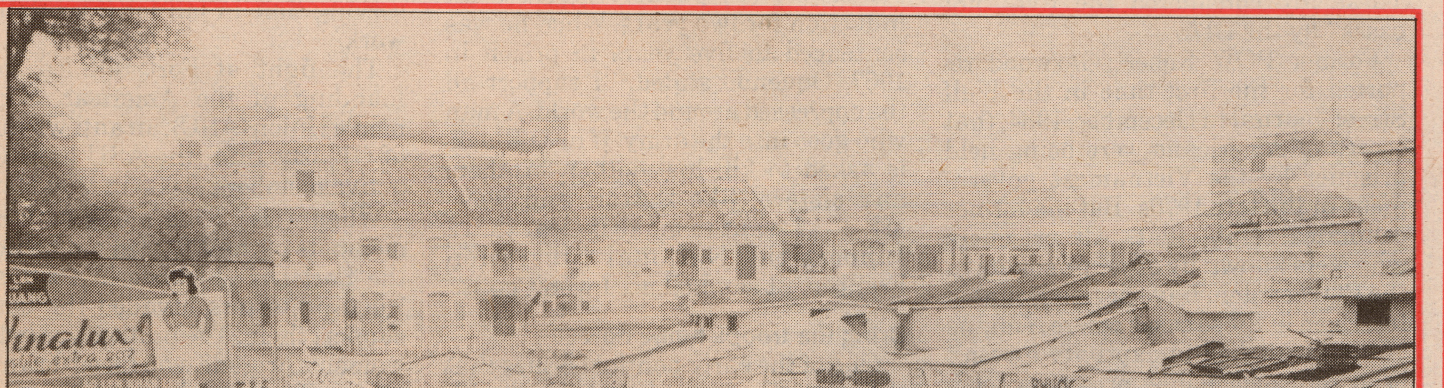
The Vietnamese desire for true national independence and freedom from foreign domination and exploitation had been tempered by decades of struggle against first the French colonialists, then the Japanese occupiers, and finally the U.S. The socialist movement came to lead the nation in this struggle because it was based on the workers and peasants first of all, who had the least ties with imperialism and the greatest material need to break free of the profit system that was starving them and working them to death.

The Vietnamese leaders never failed the people in this struggle, over the long years of political and military confrontation. There were retreats, but they were only in order to regroup and move forward once again toward the strategic objective of socialist revolution.

Liberation army was the armed people

President Ho Chi Minh, General Vo Nguyen Giap, Foreign Minister Pham Van Dong and the other leaders of the Vietnamese Revolution organized resistance to the imperialist oppressors directly from the people. Their army was not an elite corps held together by rank, privilege and brutal discipline. It was, in the final analysis, the armed population, to the extent that arms could be provided. And where there were not enough guns, the people made their own weapons—bows and arrows at first, pits lined with sharpened bam-

Continued on supplement page 4



A demonstration in Saigon—now Ho Chi Minh City—protests the U.S. government and South Vietnamese puppet military role in Viet Nam. The Pentagon could never understand that its enemy in Southeast Asia was the people themselves. It is making the same mistake today in El Salvador, South Africa and the Philippines.

Highlights of Workers World record in the fight against th

By Lallan Stein

IT IS very fashionable these days for newspaper editorial writers and Congressional liberals to talk of their "opposition" to the Viet Nam war. Often these are the same people who buckle under to Reagan when it comes to voting for money for MX missiles or for sending U.S. troops abroad.

While it was fairly commonplace to oppose the war in 1972, when the anti-war movement had grown to million-fold proportions and everyone except for some die-hard Nixonites were for bringing the troops home, it was much harder to fight against the war in the early years, when the American people either didn't know about U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia or believed the lies and propaganda from the White House.

Below are some highlights of Workers World Party's record in the fight against the Viet Nam war:

The first demonstration against the U.S. war in Viet Nam took place on Aug. 10, 1962 in front of the U.S. Army and Marine Information Service in New York City. The demand for an "immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops" was the rallying cry of over 100 protesters in a demonstration sponsored by Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF), the youth organization of Workers World Party.

In October of that year, YAWF called another anti-war protest, this one at the Times Square Marine Recruiting office. "We choose this spot for several reasons," read the call for the action. "First it is the most important recruiting center in the city and no one has picketed it. In addition it is the most congested area in the city and we want to get our message across. . . ."

Ho Chi Minh recognizes U.S. protests

In an interview with internationally known progressive journalist Wilfred Burchett published in the National Guardian on May 16, 1963, Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, said, "We appreciate such actions as . . . that of Youth Against War & Fascism who recently demonstrated against the 'undeclared war. . . .' Such activities are known here and greatly hearten our people."

From the early days of the civil rights movement, Black people in the U.S. spoke out against the war. The struggle against racism at home and in Southeast Asia was a critical issue to the development of the anti-war movement and YAWF led the way in building support for the rising Black struggle across the U.S.

In Jacksonville, Fla., in April, 1964, a rebellion erupted following a police assault on the Black community. YAWF carried banners in the Easter Peace Walk in New York City demanding, "Stop the war on the Black people of Jacksonville."

'Stop the war against Black America!'

"Stop the war against Black America" became the central slogan of Workers World Party in all the anti-war activities during these years of rebellion and government repression against freedom fighters like the Black Panther Party.

Eddie Oquendo, a founder of "Blacks Against Negative Dying" and a member of YAWF, publicly defied draft induction for two years. When he was sentenced to five years in prison in 1967, Oquendo stated, "I support all the oppressed around the world. A man who goes into the army, if he is Black, is asked to kill his mother, brothers and sisters, like Detroit and Newark. . . . I want to make it clear that I support the National Liberation Front. . . . I say hell no, I won't go!"

Bring the troops home now

One of the early political issues that the anti-war forces had to deal with was what should be the main slogan of the movement. While the sentiment of millions was clearly for getting the U.S. out of Viet Nam, a section of the anti-war leadership tied to the bourgeois liberal establishment tried to limit the slogan to "negotiations" between the U.S. and the Vietnamese and opposed the demand for withdrawal. This demand actually let the Johnson administration off the hook and put an equal sign between the U.S. and the Vietnamese, ignoring the fact that it was U.S. troops that were occupying and attacking Viet Nam.

Along with a Black delegation from Mississippi, YAWF raised the demand for U.S. withdrawal at a national anti-war conference in Washington, D.C., on Nov. 26, 1965. The next day they passed out 1,000 "Bring the GIs home now" placards at a demonstration of 40,000. The signs were eagerly taken by the participants. The enthusiasm with which a sizeable contingent of the demonstration adopted the slogan was observed in the national press coverage of the protest.

Big firms get rich, GIs die

The war in Viet Nam was not a "mistake" in U.S. foreign policy. Millions of dollars in war profits were being made and there was the market of Southeast Asia—and all of Asia—to be conquered.

To show the connection between big business and the Pentagon war machine, YAWF organized a demonstration right inside the Wall Street Stock Exchange. The exchange was disrupted. For a brief period the ticker tape was stopped and the whole financial world thrown into consternation.

International War Crimes Tribunal

In the Spring of 1967 Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre organized a Viet Nam war crimes tribunal modeled on the war crimes tribunal against the Nazis following World War II. The event involved leading intellectuals and political figures from Europe, East Asia, and South America. Many witnesses from Viet Nam testified.

Members of YAWF attended and Deirdre Griswold, currently editor of Workers World newspaper, served on the London secretariat for six months.

Although Russell was attacked in the pro-war media here and the tribunal received little press coverage in the U.S., it had a tremendous impact in Europe and succeeded in raising international consciousness on the role of U.S. imperialism.

American Serviceman's Union formed

Private Andy Stapp was an anti-war GI who was arrested in Fort Sill, Okla., in 1967 for organizing other GIs on his base against the war. Stapp sent letters around the country to anti-war groups to support his case. YAWF was one of the only groups to respond.

YAWF leaders Key Martin and Maryann Weissman were among a delegation who came to Oklahoma to build support for Stapp. They ended up receiving six-month prison sentences and serving time in jail for their anti-war work.

The fight at Fort Sill led to the founding of the American Servicemen's Union (ASU), an anti-war union of GIs. By 1971, the ASU had 10,000 active members, 3,000 in Viet Nam.

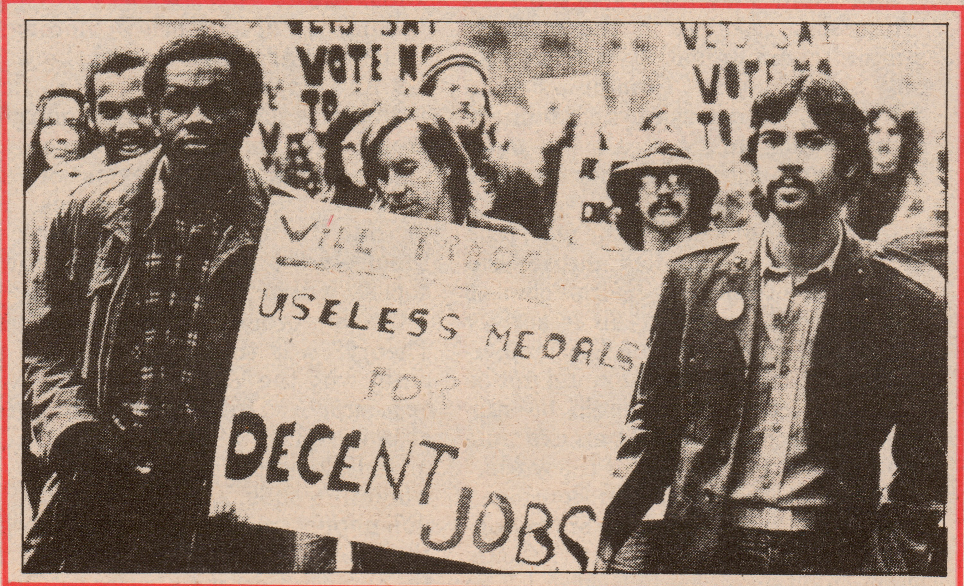
When Terry Klug along with other members of the ASU led a rebellion in the Fort Dix stockade in 1969, some 7,000 protesters invaded the base to support them. The protest was led by a women's brigade who faced down bayonets. The brigade was initiated by women in YAWF who were inspired by the fighting women of the NLF.

YAWF and the student movement

Hundreds of thousands of youth were radicalized by the civil rights movement and the struggle against the war. In November, 1967, YAWF joined over 20,000 youth who besieged the Pentagon. They supported those who burned their draft cards and attacked their draft boards. Alongside militant students on scores of campuses, YAWF marched on ROTC buildings, drove army recruiters off campus and resisted police intrusions into the university.

They helped organize a protest at President Nixon's inauguration in January, 1969. The whole world saw Nixon's limousine speed up past demonstrators who shouted "War criminal!" and held banners that read, "Billionaires profit off GI blood."

YAWF mobilized for all the major anti-war actions of the period from the People's Park struggle in Berkeley, Calif., to the National Moratorium Day



While the military corporations made billions off the war and the officers came home to fat pensions, the enlisted men and women who didn't come home in body bags faced unemployment and racism. Today the Reagan administration is slashing veterans' benefits.

The 'Missing In Action' hoax

By L. Volpe

AT THE beginning of April, the Pentagon released the identity and sent home the remains of five Americans missing from the Viet Nam war. They were recently discovered by the Vietnamese government.

For years the U.S. government has claimed that there are live POWs (Prisoners of War) in Viet Nam and popular adventure movies like Uncommon Valor, MIA (Missing In Action) and MIA-2 all reinforce this idea.

But little publicized U.S. government figures tell a different story.

Nearly 2,500 Americans remain unaccounted for as a result of the war. That number represents about 4% of those killed in the war. By comparison, in the Korean war and World War II, approximately 22% remain unaccounted for.

Of the 2,500 total, 1,113 are known to have been killed in action but the bodies weren't recovered. In another 647 cases, a presumptive finding of death was made at the time of loss.

Four hundred and thirty-six are listed as "non-recoverable" because of the circumstances of loss. These include, for instance, pilots shot down over the open sea.

Despite all the media hype in this country about the MIAs, the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency is only actively investigating 86 cases of supposed MIAs in Viet Nam. The DIA polygraphed sources in 39 of these cases and 25 of them showed deception and two were inconclusive. Of the remaining 12, four matched Americans already accounted for and three described Americans in non-prisoner status. Of the remaining five, each source could only say that the prisoner was Caucasian, nationality unknown. These are considered the five "hot cases" by the DIA.

Former POW Robert Garwood reported for the first time in the Wall Street Journal in December, 1984, that scores of Americans were being held prisoner by the Vietnamese government in the late 1970s. But his former cellmates refute that. All prisoners who were known by other prisoners in the POW system have been accounted for. Even in those cases where remains of men who died in captivity haven't been returned, fellow prisoners testified that they saw them either dead or dying. There were also an unknown number of GIs who joined the Vietnamese in their struggle and may still be living freely in Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese government has returned the remains of 95 Americans, despite the uncooperative attitude of the U.S. government. The U.S. is reluctant to give accurate information about those who became missing in U.S.-held territory during the war.

Viet Nam is one of the poorest countries, yet it has donated precious resources to find missing Americans. Meanwhile, many thousands of Vietnamese are still missing from the genocidal U.S. invasion. It is certainly understandable why some Vietnamese citizens refuse to help in finding the remains of those very pilots who killed their loved ones.

L. Volpe was a Naval Intelligence Adviser in Viet Nam's Mekong delta in 1971-72.

Much of the information in this article is taken from Indochina Issues (February, 1985).

Party's e war

in 1969 which drew more than one million protesters to Washington. YAWF helped lead many of the demonstrations around the country following the murders of anti-war protesters at Kent State and Jackson State universities in 1970 after the U.S. invasion into Kampuchea.

YAWF members were among the 14,000 arrested during the May Day protests in 1971. At that protest, Workers World newspaper featured a special supplement entitled, "The fight against the war must be a fight against capitalism."

While solidarizing with the most militant sections of the youth and student movement, YAWF and Workers World Party introduced a working-class appraisal of the struggle, showing the class connections between the war abroad and the attacks on poor and working people at home. In an article in Workers World newspaper titled "Anti-War Strategy and the State as Organized Violence" (Dec. 16, 1967), Sam Marcy wrote, "Mass resistance on an ever larger scale and with a variety and multiplicity of new, dynamic methods which are calculated to defeat the war machine and the banker-generals who head it is what is most urgently needed."

Solidarity with the NLF

Firm solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, with the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (north Viet Nam), was key to Workers World's participation in the anti-war movement.

When the NLF and the DRV negotiated a peace treaty with the Nixon administration on Oct. 20, 1972 and called on the movement in the U.S. to force Nixon to sign the treaty, YAWF helped build the National Sign the Treaty Now Coalition along with 50 other organizations including the Black Panther Party and the Attica Survivors. "Make Nixon sign on the dotted line!" became a major demand of the mass demonstration in Washington on Jan. 20, 1973.

Nixon was eventually forced to sign the treaty, and although the U.S. continued to violate the accord, the treaty proved to be the necessary breathing space the liberation forces needed to regroup. While a few in the movement attacked the Vietnamese liberation forces for "selling out," in a little over two years, the last U.S. and puppet troops were scurrying out of Saigon.

On April 30, 1975, that historic date when U.S. imperialism suffered its first major defeat and was finally driven from Southeast Asia, the front page of Workers World newspaper proclaimed, "Viet Nam belongs to the workers!"

In the limited space of a newspaper article the entire struggle against the Viet Nam war can not be detailed. The anti-war movement of the 1960s and the early 1970s clearly has a glorious record that all in this country can be proud of.

President Nixon's limousine has to speed up to escape the wrath of anti-war protesters at the 1969 counter-inaugural. This picture appeared in newspapers around the world from London to Beijing.

Hidden history of GI resistance

By Andy Stapp

THE YEAR 1971 proved to be a critical turning point in the Viet Nam war. Massive use of U.S. combat troops on the ground was abandoned in favor of the policy of "Vietnamization," that is, getting puppet soldiers to do the fighting, supplemented by massive American airpower.

Behind the decision to pull most of the U.S. troops out is a chapter of this conflict that has been largely hidden from the American people. It is the story of resistance inside the armed forces, of a war within the army. It unfolded like this:

Jan. 15, 1971: Forty Black GIs march on the U.S. Army Headquarters in Long Binh demanding an end to racism by the officers.

Jan. 27: Military police raid barracks at Tuy Hoa, Qui Nhon and Phu Tai and disarm Black and white soldiers suspected of "subversive" activities.

Feb. 24: The crew of the USS Shangri-La refuses to stand for the playing of the Marine Corp Hymn.

March 15: Two officers are killed and a third wounded by a grenade at a U.S. base near Bien Hoa. Private Billy Dean Smith, a Black GI, is arrested. The Defense Department announces that so far this year 86 officers have been killed in 550 "fragging" incidents.

March 18: Four soldiers in Saigon issue a leaflet announcing the formation of a GI War Crimes Commission which intends to collect, screen and document evidence of U.S. war crimes in Viet Nam.

April 19: Fifty-four infantrymen in the Americal Division refuse to go into combat on the Kampuchean border.

May 7: Sixteen soldiers from two companies of the 3rd Battalion of the 22nd Infantry refuse to board helicopters at Fire Base Washington in the Central Highlands.

May 11: Five GIs from the 3rd Battalion, 8th Infantry, 4th Division disobey an order to go into combat.

'No money, only our lives'

June 30: Every enlisted man in the 304th Company at Tuy Hoa signs a statement declaring their opposition to continued fighting. "We have no money tied up in this war, no banks, no oil companies, no big industrial businesses. We have only our lives," the statement says.

July 1: Airmen at Cam Ranh Bay refuse to load bombs on a C-130 aircraft.

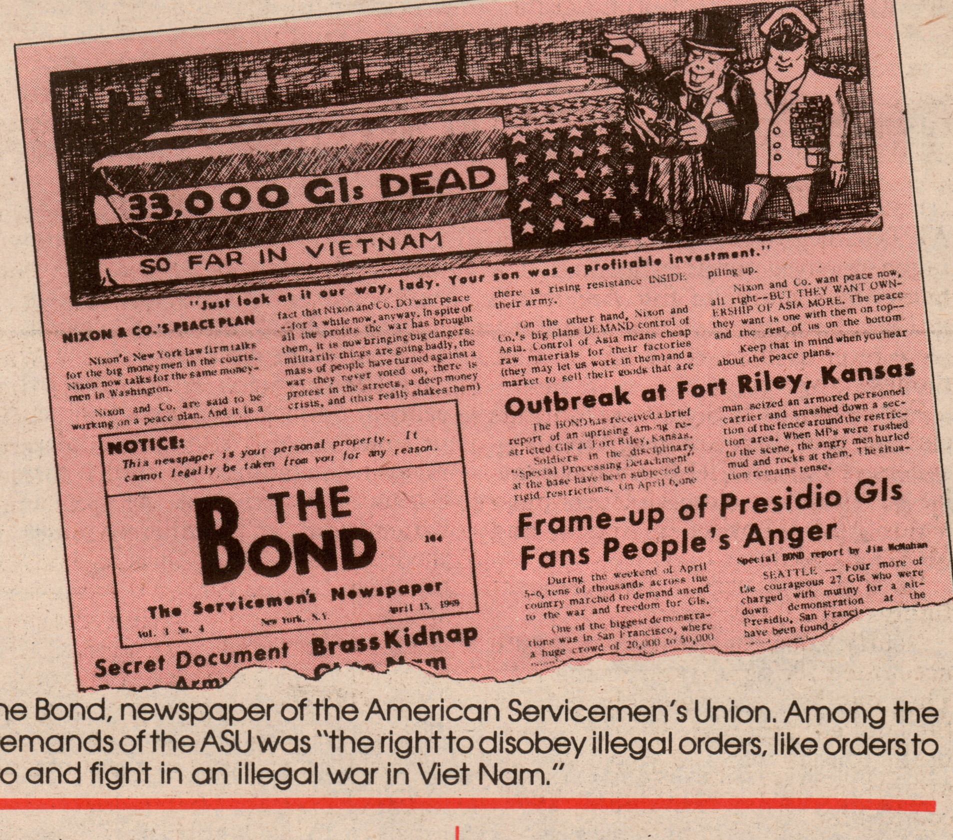
July 23: Company D, 1st Battalion of the 7th Cavalry refuses to assault a guerrilla bunker.

July 24: U.S. Army Headquarters in Viet Nam sends out a secret directive to all Army commanders warning that the American Servicemen's Union (ASU) organizers among the troops have been successful at "fostering unrest, encouraging active or passive dissent and polarizing and creating distrust between the careerist and young enlisted men." The directive instructs that "All instances of ASU activity are to be immediately reported to the appropriate counter-intelligence officer for investigation and prosecution."

Aug. 26: Thirty-eight tents in B Battery, 1st Battalion of the 86th Brigade fly flags made of bedsheets painted with the letters ASU.

Sept. 25: Black GIs in the 35th Engineering Group rebel at a base 100 miles northeast of Saigon and barricade themselves against their officers. They are charged with mutiny after the rebellion is crushed by reinforcements of military police. The charges are later dropped.

Oct. 15: Sailors aboard the aircraft carrier USS Coral Sea give their commander a letter signed by over 300 crewmen demanding that their mission be scrubbed.


33,000 GIs DEAD SO FAR IN VIETNAM

"Just look at it our way, lady. Your son was a profitable investment."

NIXON & CO.'S PEACE PLAN

Nixon's New York law firm talks for the big moneymen in the courts. Nixon now talks for the same moneymen in Washington.

Nixon and Co. are said to be working on a peace plan. And it is a fact that Nixon and Co. DO want peace --for a while now, anyway. In spite of all the profits the war has brought them, it is now bringing big dangers: militarily things are going badly, the mass of people have turned against a war they never voted on, there is protest in the streets, a deep money crisis, and (this really shakes them) there is rising resistance INSIDE their army.

On the other hand, Nixon and Co.'s big plans DEMAND control of Asia. Control of Asia means cheap raw materials for their factories (they may let us work in them) and a market to sell their goods that are piling up.

Nixon and Co. want peace now, all right--BUT THEY WANT OWNERSHIP OF ASIA MORE. The peace they want is one with them on top--and the rest of us on the bottom.

Keep that in mind when you hear about the peace plans.

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THE BOND

The Servicemen's Newspaper

Vol. 3 No. 4 New York, N.Y. April 15, 1969

Secret Document

Brass Kidnap

Outbreak at Fort Riley, Kansas

The BOND has received a brief report of an uprising among restricted GIs at Fort Riley, Kansas. Soldiers in the disciplinary "Special Processing Detachment" at the base have been subjected to rigid restrictions. On April 6, one man seized an armored personnel carrier and smashed down a section of the fence around the restriction area. When MPs were rushed to the scene, the angry men hurled mud and rocks at them. The situation remains tense.

Frame-up of Presidio GIs Fans People's Anger

Special BOND report by Jim McMahan

During the weekend of April 5-6, tens of thousands across the country marched to demand an end to the war and freedom for GIs.

One of the biggest demonstrations was in San Francisco, where a huge crowd of 20,000 to 50,000

SEATTLE — Four more of the courageous 27 GIs who were charged with mutiny for a sit-down demonstration at the Presidio, San Francisco, have been found

The Bond, newspaper of the American Servicemen's Union. Among the demands of the ASU was "the right to disobey illegal orders, like orders to go and fight in an illegal war in Viet Nam."

Oct. 21: Specialist 4th Class Emil Shaeffer is courtmartialled for refusing to remove a peace medal which was given him by a buddy killed in combat. Six thousand soldiers sign a petition supporting him.

Oct. 29: Twenty-nine soldiers of the 86th Brigade refuse orders to go on night patrol. The same day 66 other GIs also disobey a command to advance near the Kampuchean city of Krek.

Nov. 18: Eighty paratroopers in Company C of the 173rd Airborne are threatened with mutiny charges after gathering to vote out their commanding officer. They refuse to disperse. The officer is transferred.

Dec. 3: A study commissioned by the U.S. Army finds that among U.S. troops in Viet Nam, "The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army are not the primary focus of their hostility. Instead the references to them are invariably positive. The expressed hostility is aimed at two targets: the South Vietnamese Army and American NCOs [non-commissioned officers] and officers."

For the U.S. armed forces in Viet Nam, the year 1971 saw the emergence of widespread refusal to obey orders, mutinies, fraggings and near insurrection in the combat line units. It was a period that terrified the Pentagon, and it was one of those moments in history when the soldiers in an imperialist army realized who the true enemy really is.

Andy Stapp was the editor of the Bond and Chairman of the American Servicemen's Union from 1968 through 1973. He is the author of Up Against the Brass.

workers world
Special Issue

Viet Nam then— South Africa today

By Monica Moorehead

THE TREMENDOUS revolutionary upheaval of the oppressed Black masses in apartheid South Africa is making its impact profoundly felt around the world, particularly in the U.S.

From New York to San Francisco, Boston to Atlanta, from the magnificent student sit-ins at Columbia, Berkeley and Rutgers universities, the anti-apartheid struggle has broken through the perimeters of the traditional anti-war movement, notably on the campuses. This timely development is carrying forth the legacy of the anti-war period of the Viet Nam era. Today, there is even more potential for building a broad, multi-national, anti-imperialist movement with the issue of southern Africa at the forefront which can be effective in stopping the Reagan administration and the Pentagon and aiding the South African liberation struggle.

In the early days of the anti-war movement, which itself was inspired by the civil rights movement beginning in the '50s, not many understood the connections between U.S. intervention abroad and the struggles here at home of poor and working people. This was the time, however, when the struggle of Black people for basic democratic rights in the South as well as the heroic rebellions of the Black ghettos of Newark, Detroit, Watts and Harlem exposed racist conditions in the U.S. The movement for African liberation raged in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola, giving impetus to the struggle for Black liberation at home. There were also the emerging battles for self-determination among Latin and Native peoples along with the birth of the women's movement and the lesbian and gay liberation movement.

Notwithstanding the anti-war demonstrations numbering in the tens and hundreds of thousands, many in the official leadership of the movement resisted allying themselves to the struggle against racism and injustice at home and abroad. They viewed the war as a "mistaken policy" of the government, unrelated to the capitalist system as a whole.

At the offices of the Federation of South African women in 1956.

Why was it important then as well as now to link up these struggles to the demand of ending the war?

Imperialism is not a policy of an individual or even a government, but an economic system of oppression and exploitation thrust on the backs of the workers and oppressed of the world. The Viet Nam war was promoted by profiteers—those corporations and banks driven to "expand or die," driven to invest their capital and open up new markets abroad, to bust unions and pay slave-labor wages in order to make super-profits, and to protect their investments—what they call their "vital interests"—with outright brute force and terror if need be.

It is the nature of imperialism itself and the conditions of poverty, plunder and racism it creates which give birth to the heroic national liberation movements in South Africa, the Philippines, El Salvador, Puerto Rico and elsewhere.

This is the same economic system which profits from racism and sexism and all forms of discrimination and bigotry here at home, which lays off workers and shuts down plants, which attacks unions and attempts to lower workers' living standards, which cuts social services to the bone to pay the extortionate bills of the military-industrial complex.

The Vietnamese were struggling against this capitalist exploitation and oppression. The Viet Nam war was a class war. It was a classic example of the struggle between two irreconcilable social systems, one based on a handful of bosses, oppressors and the military-industrial complex and one based on the workers and the oppressed, the national liberation movements and the socialist countries. The Viet Nam war did more than anything to tear the mask off imperialism before the eyes of the world. It paved the way for the victories in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia, Nicaragua and Grenada.

Real nature of apartheid

Today the struggle against apartheid is tearing asunder the racist collaboration between the Reagan administration and the fascist apartheid regime. Like in Viet Nam, the issue is not purely a moral one. The real question is what's at stake for the U.S. government and corporations?

The U.S. has $15 billion invested in the apartheid regime. American multinationals reap $2 billion to $4 billion in profits annually. Apartheid is first and foremost an economic system, a link in the worldwide capitalist system of a brutal and barbaric nature.

Western imperialism, principally the U.S., is the life blood support mechanism keeping the apartheid system alive. The giant U.S. corporations and banks control vital sectors of the South African economy like oil, transportation and high technology. The U.S. has bolstered South Africa into the most powerful military fortress on the African continent to safeguard its economic interests, similar to the role that Israel plays in the Middle East.

When a U.S. plant runs away to South Africa, it can pay a Black worker there one-fourth of what a unionized worker here gets. The money from every cutback in social service programs goes to the Pentagon and helps sustain the colonial slavemasters abroad while living standards are cut to the bone among the poor and the oppressed here at home.

The millions of Black people in South Africa are not only fighting the apartheid regime, but their main backers, the U.S. They are fighting a heroic battle against the same blood-sucking corporate and banking parasites that exploit us at home.

The African National Congress of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia are playing a similar role to that of the NLF in Viet Nam. They are leading a people's war against oppression. And it is just as important to support these liberation organizations as to demand the U.S. get out of South Africa.

A lot has happened since U.S. imperialism was booted out of Viet Nam. The capitalist economic crisis has worsened, bringing a better understanding of the relationship between imperialist intervention abroad and the crisis of cutbacks, unemployment and racism at home. These connections were not fully made by the anti-war movement in the 1960s.

The struggle against apartheid is now igniting the anti-war movement in the U.S. as Viet Nam did 20 years ago. By becoming more multi-national, more militant and making the link between the war abroad and the conditions of poverty and oppression here at home, the coming movement of the 1980s can be a tremendous factor in stopping the Pentagon warmakers.

—People's war victory

Continued from supplement page 1

boo, spears and staves.

The people were the eyes and ears of the resistance. They didn't need "spy in the sky" satellites or high-tech electronic eavesdropping. The Vietnamese people were everywhere, mopping the floors, serving the meals, driving the taxis. The commander of Saigon intelligence for the NLF was a waitress in a U.S. officers' club.

Those trying to sell the war here warned ominously that if Viet Nam "fell," then Kampuchea and Laos would be next, Thailand would soon be gobbled up, and before you knew it the "communists" would be landing in California. But, ironically, it was the U.S. invasion of Kampuchea and the years of secret but devastating CIA bombing of Laos that insured a total overturn in those countries. U.S. aggression tore apart the fabric of life and brought revolution much sooner than it would have come otherwise.

General Maxwell Taylor, a former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who became U.S. Ambassador to South Viet Nam in 1964, saw the conflict in global terms. He wasn't worried just about Thailand. He told a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing in 1966 that a Vietnamese victory wouldn't just affect its neighbors: "We may well have serious difficulties in Africa or Latin America, for example." The war had to go on: "This country cannot escape its destiny as the champion of the free world."

But the day did finally come when the White House and the Pentagon had to accept the inevitable and get out of Viet Nam. And it was a humiliating defeat—not for the people of the U.S., who were demanding an end to the war, but for the ruling class here that had staked so much on it.

Reaganites repeat same mistakes

No doubt today's rightwing, who are doing all they can to get us into another war in Central America, or the Middle East, or southern Africa—or all three—will say that Taylor was right. But they have totally missed the point.

Yes, today there are revolutionary movements in El Salvador, in South Africa, in the Philippines, in Ireland and throughout the Middle East. And of course revolutionaries learn from other struggles, from victories and defeats.

But nobody has to tell Black South Africans why they should fight apartheid. Nobody has to tell the people of the Philippines that Marcos is a corrupt dictator. Revolutionary movements arise out of the soil of oppression, injustice and exploitation.

Ho Chi Minh was tremendously inspired by Lenin's writings on imperialism and the national question, and described how when he first read Lenin as a young man he couldn't sleep for excitement. But it was the many years of imperialist intervention that deepened his conviction in revolutionary Marxism. It was the fact that imperialism must mercilessly extract superprofits out of the blood and sweat of the workers around the world that steeled the idealistic Vietnamese youth into an invincible fighting force.

Today the capitalist system is in an economic crisis that is bringing ruination to hundreds of millions around the world. The accumulated debt of the Third World countries alone shows that there can be no end to merciless exploitation under the present system. The only way out is to dismantle the profit system—that is, for the workers and peasants to take power in a socialist revolution.

This special issue was prepared by
Workers World newspaper.
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Lessons for the anti-war movement

New book on Bolsheviks has valuable material for activists

By Robert Dobrow

APRIL 16—For activists on the anti-apartheid picketlines and marchers at the anti-Reagan protests, Sam Marcy's new book "The Bolsheviks and War: Lessons for today's anti-war movement" is right on target.

At first it might seem that a discussion of the Bolshevik Party and the experiences of the European socialist movement during World War I is too far removed from conditions in the U.S. in 1985. But this book is much more than a historical treatise. It contains invaluable material for all those grappling with how to really stop the Reaganites in their mad push toward military intervention abroad and nuclear catastrophe.

Marcy's book tells the story of an anti-war movement some 70 years ago. Unlike today, that movement encompassed tens of millions of workers who were not only anti-war but considered themselves socialists and dedicated to the abolition of capitalist wage slavery and oppression.

Throughout the first decade of the 20th century, the socialist leaders could clearly see that the imperialist powers—France, Britain, Germany, the U.S., czarist Russia, etc.—were at each other's throats in a feverish race for colonies and new markets abroad.

The approaching imperialist war was obvious to all. In fact, at party congresses the leaders of the Socialist International had repeatedly resolved to not only resist the war but, if the war came, to utilize the crisis to bring down capitalist rule.

The resolutions from these congresses at Stuttgart (1907) and Basel (1912) and other key documents from the early socialist movement are reprinted in the appendix to Marcy's book.

Couldn't stand up to war hysteria

But on Aug. 4, 1914, when war finally broke out, the movement suffered a frightening defeat. All throughout Europe the socialist leadership caved in to the avalanche of war hysteria, chauvinism and racism in their respective countries. Socialist deputies in parliament voted for war credits. "Workers of the world, unite!" was forgotten and replaced with "Defense of the fatherland," which really meant defense of the privileges and profits of the exploiting bourgeoisie.

The betrayal of the socialist leaders, Marcy explains, left the millions of working people ideologically and politically helpless and completely unprepared for the coming imperialist carnage which would take tens of millions of lives.

Why did the socialist leaders betray the movement and wind up taking an objectively pro-war stance? Why was the movement powerless to prevent the war?

The answer, Marcy shows, doesn't lie in the personal qualities of individuals, but in the nature of the capitalist system itself, which had grown over to its degenerative imperialist stage. The imperialist powers were reaping scandalous super-profits from the colonies. This in turn laid the material basis for infecting a section of the labor movement with a chauvinist and racist attitude which falsely identified the interests of the workers with the interests of "the nation," i.e., the bourgeoisie.

Marcy's book describes how Lenin and a small revolutionary tendency fought against this opportunism. The Leninist position was to promote solidarity of all the workers and oppressed people. The duty of workers from the oppressor nation, Lenin taught, was to support the struggle of the oppressed nations against imperialism. This would lay the basis for real and lasting internationalism between all the workers of the world.

It was these revolutionaries, literally a handful on the European continent, who genuinely opposed the war and condemned the betrayal by the Socialist International. Their most prominent representative was Karl Liebknecht who stood up alone in the German Reichstag (parliament) and voted against war credits.

Lenin, who had been building a revolutionary party in Russia for over 10 years, took the most consistent anti-war position. The Bolsheviks' ideological struggle laid the basis for overturning capitalist rule in Russia and ultimately forcing an end to the imperialist slaughter.

War doesn't stop class struggle

"The most important question during wartime," Marcy writes, "is what to do to stop the war. The Bolshevik answer was as clear as crystal. Fight against the war by all necessary means with the general aim of converting the war of capitalist governments against each other into a war of the workers against the capitalists. . . .

"One of the fundamental differences between the Bolsheviks and nearly all other socialist organizations was not merely over how to stop the war. It was a different class approach. With the other socialists, the class struggle stopped with the outbreak of the war and national unity became the order of the day. The defense budget took pre-eminence, just as it does today in all of the capitalist countries. Cuts in the living standards of the workers became necessary to overcome the crisis created by war expenditures. The workers would have to wait for an improvement after the war—if they were still alive. With the Bolsheviks the class struggle did not stop with the outbreak of war, but took on a more intensified and vigorous form and had to be prosecuted to the end."

Marcy presents a wealth of material on Lenin's practical activities during the war years: his analysis of developments in the European movement, his organizing at the outbreak of the war, his detailed and methodical work with the Bolshevik fraction of the Duma (Russia's parliament). He shows how Lenin combined illegal work under the conditions of czarist repression with utilizing any opportunity of bourgeois legality to present the party's revolutionary program.

KAL incident, June 12 rally

These lessons are brought up to date in the chapter on "Class struggle in the nuclear age." Certain bourgeois liberal elements today hold the position that high technology and nuclear weapons make all talk of ideology and social theories like Marxism, which are based on a particular class, irrelevant. They state that the anti-nuclear struggle should be the only struggle and overshadow all else.

The problem with this approach, Marcy explains, is that the capitalists won't stop their exploitation of the workers or their imperialist oppression abroad. The nuclear threat just intensifies the class struggle.

Two recent political events are explored in Marcy's book—the KAL incident and the huge June 12, 1982, anti-nuclear demonstration in New York.

When the Soviet Union was forced to down the KAL spy plane on Sept. 1, 1983, the U.S. turned on the floodgates of wild anti-Soviet hysteria. The danger of war was on everyone's mind. Yet the broad anti-war movement was paralyzed to respond. The traditional anti-war groups by and large bought the official government view of the incident. Blinded by anti-Sovietism they left the movement at the mercies of the government and media. Much later the facts of the case began trickling in and now there is abundant evidence to show that the plane was indeed on a spy mission for Washington.

On June 12, the anti-nuclear forces staged a huge and impressive demonstration. The main slogan was for a nuclear freeze. But at that very moment, the Israeli government in collaboration with the U.S. had launched a genocidal invasion of Lebanon. This invasion was barely mentioned from the demonstration platform. In other words, while speaking out against war in general, they were silent about a very specific war that was being waged against the oppressed Palestinian and Lebanese people.

The irony is that many of the bourgeois liberals who the anti-nuclear forces had relied on later turned around and stabbed the movement in the back by voting with the Reagan administration for the MX missile.

These two significant events, writes Marcy, "proved the inability of the pacifist, neo-social-democratic leaders to rise to the occasion, to be an effective instrument in the struggle, or even to show signs of resistance on a modest scale. The movement as a whole, composed of many, many millions, must be distinguished from the leaders. . . .

"If the struggle against imperialist war is to become serious, it must take on a working-class character. This means that the fundamental aim of the anti-war struggle is not merely against the military-industrial complex, but also the defense contractors and the big banks, as well as the giant oil corporations. In a word, the struggle against imperialist war must be conducted as an all-around classwide struggle against the bourgeoisie. Only a real class war can stop an imperialist war and has the material basis for winning the allegiance of all the oppressed and exploited masses."

Green Corn Rebellion

An example of this classwide struggle from the pages of U.S. history is dealt with by Marcy in describing the Green Corn Rebellion of August 1917. This was a genuine working-class attempt at an anti-war insurrection in Oklahoma. It was composed mostly of poor tenant farmers and unemployed railroad workers. It included Black people, Native people from the Seminole Nation and whites. It was organized by the Working Class Union, the left wing of the Socialist movement in Oklahoma and Arkansas.

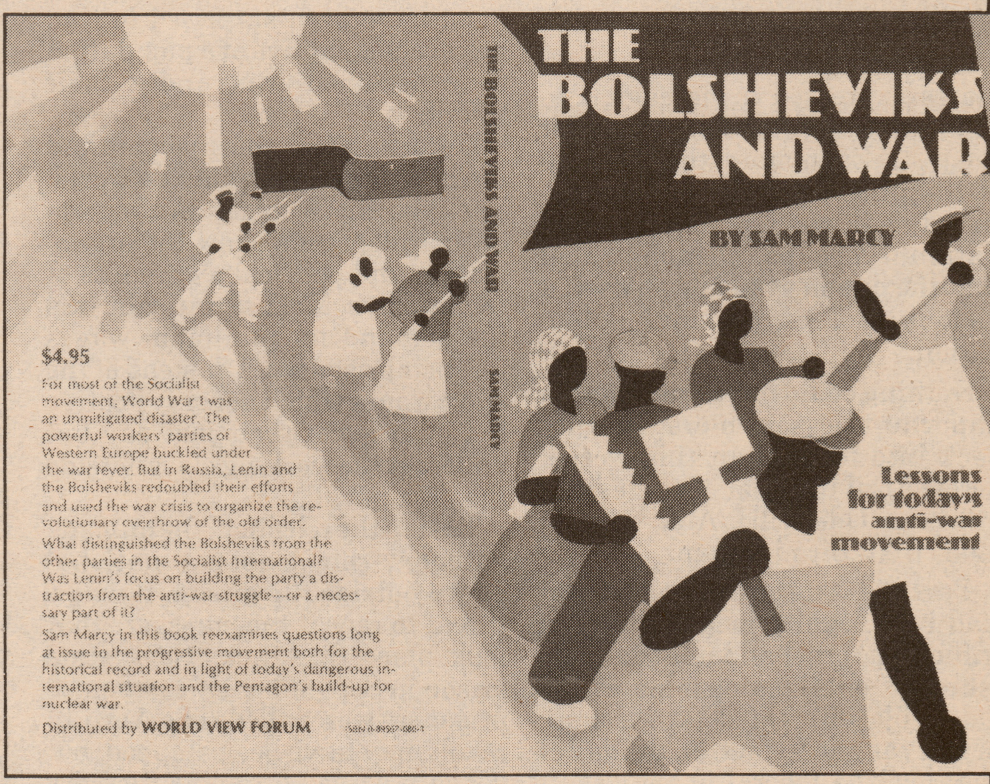
Marcy has probably accumulated all available sources in the U.S. on the rebellion and paints a fascinating account of this heroic attempt to stop U.S. intervention in World War I. The battle, of course, was unsuccessful. But more importantly, the Green Corn Rebellion, "a genuine revolutionary coalition of the most downtrodden workers and oppressed, showed in an early and premature form that the forces for such a struggle are being generated here on the soil of the world's greatest imperialist power."

Marcy's book from cover to cover is dedicated to helping generate that struggle as well.

The Bolsheviks and War

By Sam Marcy

$4.95 (add 75¢ for postage)



Order from: World View Forum, 46 W. 21 St., New York, N.Y. 10010

EDITORIAL

Pentagon's proxy in the Middle East

THE DAILY REPORTS from southern Lebanon debunk the old myths about the Israeli army. No longer can anyone believe these war-weary troops are a spirited, high-morale "Israeli Defense Force."

They are seen daily on TV on punitive expeditions in Lebanese towns, blowing up homes, shooting civilians, even murdering CBS reporters. They bomb and shell Palestinian refugee camps.

Retreating hastily from a population that has grown to hate this ugly occupation force, the Israeli officers look much like the Pentagon's forces did in Saigon ten years ago, scampering aboard helicopters to save their skins.

But even as the Israeli role is exposed a bit, a truth more important for the people in the U.S. is still obscured: The aims of Wall Street and Washington in the Middle East, an area where 150 million Arab people still suffer imperialist exploitation and where the mostly U.S.-owned oil companies drill for their fortunes.

To keep Exxon, Texaco and Mobil in control of this wealth, Washington employs many tactics; they shore up clients like Sadat and Nimeiry, but these regimes prove unstable; they prepare direct U.S. intervention, but as the disastrous Marine intervention in Lebanon showed, this is unpopular not only with the people facing U.S. guns but is also unpopular at home. Besides, it often fails to achieve Washington's ends.

Israel provides the imperialists with a third strategy—to utilize a captive settler population as a weapon against the Arab liberation movement. From its founding in 1948, the Israeli state has been dependent on the West for military and economic backing, and the Israeli army has been a tool of Western and especially Washington's designs.

The U.S. rulers in 1948 saw Israel not as a haven for Jewish victims of Nazism, but as an extension of U.S. colonial aims. Since it was to be a settler state built by robbing the Palestinians of their land, a hostile entity in the Arab world, it would inevitably be dependent on and a captive of Western interests.

Today, in 1985, the gradual collapse of the Israeli economy and the continued drain from the 1982 invasion of Lebanon has made the settler state even more dependent on U.S. aid for its very existence. All the more is the Israeli army a tool of Washington. And all the more should the crimes of that occupation force be laid at the steps of the Pentagon and the White House.

Concentration camps — Alabama style

THE PRISON REVOLTS of 1970 and 1971 occurred in the midst of a tremendous upsurge in the liberation movements of Black, Latin and other oppressed peoples as well as the anti-war and women's movements.

Through their rebellion, the inmates expressed a message: Prisons are concentration camps for the poor. Even more, the make up of the prison population, concentrated as it was among oppressed national groups, demonstrated that the prison system was itself a vicious tool of national subjugation.

Nothing could have brought this important lesson more sharply back into focus than this week's heroic April 15 uprising at the state prison in Odenville, Ala., only 30 miles from Birmingham.

Part of a state prison system that had been legally judged guilty of inflicting "cruel and unusual punishment" on Alabama inmates, the Odenville jail created its own share of grievances. In fact, on the day of the revolt, a federal judge was at the prison hearing a civil rights complaint about living conditions there.

To the warden and his cronies, the overwhelmingly Black prison population at Odenville were nothing but a source of slave labor, to be kept obedient through threats of isolation and worse. The officials must have been surprised to find themselves captive of a population they assumed was under their thumb.

Unfortunately, the prisoners had no direct line to the outside world. Yet even the second-hand reports of their demands show the organization and political awareness of the inmates. Most significant was the demand for minimum wages for their prison work, instead of the slave wages which not only deprive the inmates of their just pay but undercut the working class outside the prison walls.

To stop the rebellion, the officials gathered the Alabama national guard outside the prison. It was a threat to repeat the massacre that took place at Attica, N.Y., state prison in September 1971, when 28 prisoners were killed. The April 15 revolt may have been stopped, but it again served to revive the message that prisons are concentration camps for the poor that must be torn down.

Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Revolution

By Sam Marcy

APRIL 16—The successors to Albanian leader Enver Hoxha have administered a rude rebuff to the USSR and other socialist countries by rejecting the Soviets' message of condolence following Hoxha's death and refusing to allow any delegations from other socialist countries to attend his funeral.

It would be wrong, however, to accept the imperialist explanation for this behavior, which is based on the bourgeois conception of the Albanian revolution and its leadership as xenophobic, characterized by extreme rigidity in ideology and profoundly anti-foreign.

Rather, the rebuff should be regarded as hopefully a last chapter of what has been an entire historic epoch in which the solidarity of the socialist countries and much of the international working class movement was broken up and split wide open.

Socialist Albania and Enver Hoxha, whose name will forever be linked with the Albanian Revolution and resistance to imperialism, would have remained a consistent, devoted member-state within the framework of the community of socialist states, making an independent contribution to socialism, had it not been for the ideological and ultimately state-to-state struggle between the great socialist countries of China and the USSR.

The so-called phenomenon of Albania is in the main a product of the split in the socialist camp and the havoc wrought as a result of it.

It should first of all be remembered that over the years Anglo-U.S. imperialism and their satellite supporters have had the same designs on Albania as they have on Viet Nam, Cuba or Nicaragua today.

Press doesn't mention CIA invasion in 1950s

On the occasion of the passing of Enver Hoxha, the capitalist newspapers have poured scorn and contempt on Albania. How many have remembered to mention the Bay of Pigs-type invasion of the socialist republic of Albania organized by the U.S. and Britain back at the time of the Korean war? None that this writer has seen.

Just as the heroic Cuban government defeated the Bay of Pigs invasion, so the Albanian revolutionary government under Enver Hoxha repelled the ill-fated invasion led by the CIA and its mercenaries. Albania has really had no respite from the maneuvers of imperialism since then.

The Western imperialist powers have relied heavily on the expansionist, bourgeois nationalist aspirations of Yugoslavia which seeks to once again control Albania and to create a bastion on the Adriatic coast. And the U.S. has always looked upon both Turkey and Greece as levers directed against Albania, even though the former is a satellite fascist regime while the latter is governed by the Socialist Party of Papandreou.

A right to diversity in socialist camp

Of course, there have been enough mistakes in the long ideological, political and diplomatic struggle between China and the USSR to have made any socialist figure in the position of Albania's leaders downright suspicious of the great socialist countries. Also not to be forgotten is that the leaders of the socialist countries have a right and duty to develop Marxism-Leninism in accordance with their own perspective.

The bourgeoisie and the outright revisionists of Marxism have long prated about the lack of diversity in the socialist community. But when they talk about diversity, it is always to champion economic and political retreats toward bourgeois ideology and bourgeois economic reforms which undermine socialism. They applaud political and diplomatic "innovations" which open the gates wide to imperialist penetration and stimulate local bourgeois reaction in socialist countries—as witness Poland, for example, although it is not alone in this respect.

Indeed, there is a need, which has become more and more manifest, for revolutionary socialist diversity in the socialist countries. Each new revolution shows this to be an historically inevitable development which should not be obstructed or undermined but, on the contrary, encouraged.

The need is for diversity within the framework of the struggle against imperialism and capitalism and against bourgeois reaction at home. That's the kind of diversity we look forward to, the kind which is based upon a resurgence of the creative initiative of the masses and their instinctive drive for a socialist solution to all the manifold new problems which have arisen from

Continued on page 15

Convergence of economic and political crises

By Sam Marcy

APRIL 15—Slowly but surely there is developing a convergence of political and economic trends.

The bourgeois press continually deals with these events as isolated phenomena, not as part and parcel of a world pattern characteristic of the bourgeois order of society. It is important, however, that the working class and particularly its vanguard elements not be misled by the way the capitalist press handles the emerging crisis.

It is easy enough for the bourgeois press, in dealing with the revolutionary ferment in South Africa, to divorce it wholly from that of Central America. Moreover, they detach these political events from their economic roots and do not at all take into account that capitalism has been undergoing a deep and profound crisis, notwithstanding cyclical ups and downs. The ruling class cannot extricate itself except by exacerbating both political and economic crises, sometimes simultaneously.

Most of all, the bourgeois press needs to employ deception on a momentous scale in order to cover up what is at the bottom of the crisis. A look backward, if only for a moment, will help to elucidate what may be in store for us again.

> Bourgeois economists point to the growing service sector as an area of the economy immune to the crises that have wracked capitalist industry. But the service sector is not autonomous; it is subject to the same laws of capitalist development and capitalist crisis as the productive apparatus, and is ultimately dependent on it. However, there is a lag time between when the crisis affects industry and when it hits the various service occupations, public and private.

The energy hoax

Take, for instance, the oil crisis of the 1970s. Who today cannot remember the huge gas lines, the tremendous amount of publicity emanating from the capitalist press regarding the scarcity of oil? Oil was becoming a commodity so scarce that the energy crisis would last into the 21st century.

Can we forget that this was in the midst of an hysterical anti-Arab and anti-Iranian campaign? The Carter administration was whipping up anti-Arab sentiment to such a degree that Carter himself proclaimed on nationwide TV that OPEC had "a razor at our throat." Everything was the fault of the petroleum-producing countries, while the oil monopolies of the U.S. were blameless.

But what kind of a crisis was it in reality?

The crisis had its origins in political rather than economic developments. The scarcity hysteria was induced by fear that the U.S. would lose its stranglehold over Mideast oil and by the **anticipation** of an enlarged and protracted war in the Middle East, leading to a possible confrontation with the USSR.

As soon as this abated, it became obvious that while there had been an increase in oil production as a result of the upward capitalist cycle of the 1960s, the huge demand for oil in the seventies was based purely on the conjectural element of a wide war in the Middle East. This is what created the need to stock up on oil. So the stocking began, and it continued for such a prolonged period that it turned into the greatest over-production of a single commodity in history.

The capitalist over-production of oil has now been so great that Business Week felt compelled to predict, as long ago as Nov. 12, 1984, that the oil glut could continue into the 21st century!

The scarcity of oil was mostly a political hoax. It continued to be believed until capitalist over-production compelled a complete retreat. Now the oil companies are biding their time for their next adventure.

The oil glut, which continues unabated to this day, is only one manifestation of the political and certainly the economic crisis of the capitalist system. There are many signs of the maturing of both the political and economic crisis, and their merging into one.

U.S. a debtor nation

Take, for instance, this phenomenon: Last March 15, the U.S. became a debtor nation. This has puzzled many. What does it signify? Does the fact that the U.S. has become a debtor nation, when for most of the century it was a creditor nation, have real political and economic significance? Indeed, it does.

Some in the bourgeoisie tend to boast about it, saying that the U.S. is just a good, rich place to invest in. They console themselves by remarking that the U.S. was a debtor nation for most of the 19th century. Yes, indeed, it was. European capital flowed in in huge amounts, particularly during the Civil War and continuing all the way up and beyond the Spanish-American war of 1898.

But what is the difference? The difference is fundamental and has political as well as economic aspects to it.

When European capital was flowing into the U.S. in the 19th century, it was being invested in the building of U.S. basic industries, like railroads. It helped to build mines and mills and the rest of the industrial infrastructure of U.S. capitalism, especially heavy industries like steel and electricity as well as lumber and textiles. It helped to build the so-called progressive stage of the capitalist system.

But what is happening now?

By the end of this year, says the New York Times (March 14), the imbalance of investments between the U.S. and the rest of the world will be about $100 billion. In other words, whereas only a year ago the same amount was being invested in the U.S. as was going out, by the end of this year there will be $100 billion more coming in than going out.

But where is all this capital inflow going? It is not being invested in steel companies, railroads or any of the other manufacturing industries that helped to build the capitalist infrastructure in the U.S.

Most of the capital being invested in the U.S. is of a thoroughly speculative character. It moves at high speed in money market securities and in U.S. treasury bonds. It is a new, more degenerated and parasitic form of monopoly capital whose mode of operation is speculation in diverse forms of indebtedness.

Only to a small degree is it based on the moderate capitalist upturn which began in 1983 and is now reaching a stagnation point.

Moreover, it is flight capital, capital that is fearful of European working-class dissent and of revolutionary overturns in the underdeveloped countries. This includes not only imperialist finance capital but comprador capital from oil-producing countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and some from Venezuela and Mexico, where the comprador bourgeoisie is interlaced with imperialist finance capital.

But capital can also flee from the U.S. at great speed. Always hanging over the heads of the bourgeoisie is the possibility that a swift flight of capital could trigger a financial crisis of vast proportions. A foretaste of this was seen when Continental Bank collapsed.

The $900 billion of U.S. investments abroad is distributed widely over many oppressed countries and also Europe, Canada and Japan. But for the most part U.S. capital investment abroad stubbornly sticks in the oppressed countries and accumulates unbearable indebtedness from them.

The much-vaunted recent "adjustment" of the debt of the oppressed countries, which reaches into the hundreds of billions, has not really taken place. Instead, **austerity** measures have been effectuated, and only where there has been no mass resistance.

How interesting that the effort of the U.S. to push austerity measures to the extreme in such a poor country as the Sudan led to an open rebellion! The political consequences for U.S. imperialism have only begun. They are not ended with the replacement of the butcher and U.S. puppet Nimeiry.

The basis for the developing economic stagnation in the U.S. was well put, although in disguised form, by none other than Paul Volcker, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, who testified in Congress last week on the 1986 budget. In the course of it he uncovered one of the basic dilemmas of U.S. capitalism.

There cannot be a recovery from the current stagnation, he said, "as long as agriculture, manufacturing and mining are stagnant." Indeed, capitalist agriculture, just like oil, is characterized by huge over-production. Political manipulation by the capitalist state has never been able to overcome the protracted crisis of agriculture.

But it is not just in U.S. agriculture that there is capitalist over-production. In all of the capitalist countries from Australia to Europe, from Canada to Argentina, a glut of agricultural products marks a world economic crisis.

The crisis is also in mining, not only coal but also copper, aluminum, molybdenum, nickel, zinc and all the precious metals. Note the protracted slump in gold prices.

All raw materials are down, and this includes lumber products. There is more and more unemployment in all the basic industries, and it has now spread to high-tech industries.

Service sector no exception

But, it is said, the service sector has grown and is employing more and more people.

It is true that employment has grown in the service sector. But this contradiction between the decline of manufacturing, mining and agriculture, on the one hand, and the growth of the so-called service sector, cannot continue. The latter depends upon the former.

There can be an increase in the number of fast-food restaurants, for instance. But these are not self-sustaining, autonomous industries. They depend in the long run on the basic industries.

The huge increase in financial services in some parts of the country is based strictly on dividing up the profits that have been amassed on the basis of previous production.

To put it in Marxist terms, there may be a big increase in lawyers, accountants, bookkeepers, police, administrative employees of the government and so on, but these are not self-sustaining. Their increase may be protracted, but it ultimately depends on the **productive** apparatus of the capitalist economy, not on its distributive aspect.

Moreover, one has to clearly differentiate between the clerical proletariat and those who live strictly on the basis of the degenerative and usurious forms of finance capital.

The service sector, which is a heterogeneous group of public and private industries, has no self-regulating mechanism as is implied by the bourgeois economists. It is regulated by the blind forces of the capitalist market.

What are these economists trying to tell us about the relations between the industrial working class and the service sector? They are saying that the industrial working class is declining and diminishing, while the service sector, which is growing, is immune to the laws that govern the capitalist economy. It is immune to capitalist crisis, they claim, because so much of it is "counter-cyclical."

What the apologists for capitalism overlook is that there is a lag period between the time a capitalist crisis affects the industrial workers and

Continued on page 15

Boston disabled protest denial of services

WW PHOTO: PHEBE ECKFELDT

Boston disabled protest denial of benefits.

By Brian Shea

BOSTON, April 14—Members of the Disabled People's Liberation Front, supporters from the All-Peoples Congress and from trade unionists picketed the main offices of the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission (MRC) next to the exclusive Park Plaza Hotel on April 13.

MRC, as the state agency responsible for providing vocational rehabilitation services to disabled people, has a long history of denying or withdrawing services when they determine someone to be "too severely disabled" to benefit from them.

This has almost always meant that they haven't wanted to spend the money for schooling, transportation, and other needs required for job training and placement of severely disabled people.

Instead, MRC has either not offered services at all or has dumped a severely disabled person into a shelter workshop.

Speaker after speaker at the demonstration gave personal testimony of either being denied vocational rehabilitation services or being placed in low-paid, exploitative sheltered workshops.

Jane Gallant of DPLF, a single mother with cerebral palsy who is raising three teenagers, was originally thrown into a sheltered workshop by MRC and promptly thrown out for talking about organizing a union. She finished junior college without MRC's help because they refused to pay. She is now forcing them to help her pay for her continuing studies.

Steven Kirschbaum, PAC Chair USWA 8751, Boston School Bus Drivers, pledged the support of his union to DPLF and all disabled people and called on the rest of the trade union movement to provide political and material support to the disabled people's movement.

In a statement which was distributed at the action, DPLF pointed out that "the vocational rehabilitation services which MRC is supposed to provide are not gifts that the rich gave to the disabled community. They were won after long struggle, just like any other gain made by poor and working people. We demand control of Mass. Rehab. We demand services for severely disabled people. And we demand meaningful job training and union wages for disabled workers."

Prenotification—important step in fight for jobs

By Veronica Golos

APRIL 15—A prenotification bill has been introduced to Congress. The legislation would require plants to provide a 90-day notice of a plant closing or of a permanent layoff of 50 or more workers.

Introduced by William D. Ford (D-Mich.), Silvio O. Conte (D-Mass.) and William L. Clay (D-Mo.), the bill would establish a 15-member bipartisan National Commission of Plant Closing to develop "policies to prevent shutdowns, and programs to assist dislocated workers," reports the AFL-CIO News (March 23).

However, employers would be able to shorten the notification period by convincing the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service that "unavoidable business circumstances" exist.

This measure isn't as comprehensive as earlier versions.

Mild though this bill is, prenotification is a necessity in this period. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, between 1979 and 1984, 5.5 million workers lost their jobs in plant closings without advance notice. While this bill won't alleviate the jobless crisis, it is a step in the right direction.

As plants which ran from the Northern unionized cities to the non-union shops of the South now run to oppressed countries like South Africa, prenotification is a crucial and winnable step for workers in the fight for jobs. This type of law, lengthened to a year or more, would offer enough time for workers to organize and devise strategies to prevent, substantially delay, or mitigate the consequences of such plant closings—a first step in the struggle to stop plant closings.

Join us in the struggle

Workers World Party (WWP) fights on all issues that face the working class and oppressed peoples in this capitalist society. All work together in this organization—Black and white, Latin, Asian and Native peoples, women and men, young and old, lesbian and gay, disabled, working, unemployed and students.

If you would like to know more about **WWP,** or if you would like to join us in these struggles, contact the branch nearest you:

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On The Picketline

Maryland union win. After a decade-long struggle, the 900 workers at the Magruder supermarket chain near Washington, D.C., have won the battle for a union. The company had spent the ten years fighting the organizing drive of United Food & Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 400. Magruder was helped along all the way by the National Labor Relations Board, which consistently blocked the workers' try to unionize. Finally, last year Local 400 began mobilizing for a public campaign to expose Magruder's anti-worker stance, and that organizing led the company to the bargaining table and ultimately to union recognition. Now the workers at the chain's eight stores are fighting for a contract that will address their wages and working conditions. They only make $4 to $5 an hour, with no benefits or job security.

Pay equity OK. The state of New York has commissioned a study of job classifications and pay structure for state employees, preparatory to restructuring the system to provide equal pay for jobs of comparable worth. The state's action comes as part of a tentative contract settlement with the Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA). As part of the agreement, New York has set aside $16 million to pay workers found to have been underpaid according to the principle of comparable work. After the comprehensive review is completed and pay rates equalized, according to state officials, many jobs held primarily by women—and some held mostly by men—will be upgraded. As one CSEA leader commented, "The bottom line is that the employees and the union can't lose." No one's pay will be cut.

Against pay equity. The Reagan administration, meanwhile, keeps blustering away against pay equity. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (more properly the Commission on Civil Wrongs) officially released its heralded report on the issue, and the Reagan-appointed majority urged employers to "reject comparable worth." The commission, ignoring the harsh realities for working women, claimed that sex discrimination is vanishing. Such distortions of reality might be laughable if the Commission wasn't supposed to be working to end discrimination, rather than spread it as the current policies do. That's why more and more women are discovering that a union contract is their best insurance to win pay equity.

• • •

Women miners to meet. The Coal Employment Project (CEP) will hold its seventh annual National Conference of Women Miners the weekend of June 21-23, in Price, Utah. CEP has been a leader in the struggles of women miners for jobs and rights and against discrimination and harassment. Issues to be addressed at the conference include health and safety, fighting for paid parental leave, sexual harassment, etc. Almost 4,000 women have gone down into the mines in the last decade. For more information, call (703) 670-3416.

—Shelley Ettinger

Soweto Remembered

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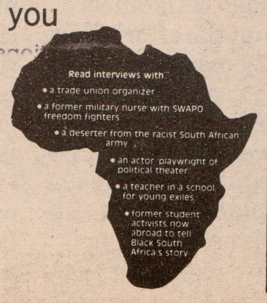

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NYC ruling shows racism of 'justice' system

Killer cop let go in murder of Eleanor Bumpurs

By Monica Moorehead

NEW YORK, April 13—The verdict is in and no one should be surprised. Steven Sullivan, a white policeman, who fired the fatal shotgun blasts that killed Mrs. Eleanor Bumpurs, a 66-year-old Black grandmother, was freed by a State Supreme Court judge on April 12.

Acting Justice Vincent A. Vitale dismissed a manslaughter charge against the racist cop on the grounds that the evidence against Sullivan was "legally insufficient to support the offense charged or any lesser indicted offense."

In response to a reporter's question of whether he would shoot again under similar circumstances, Sullivan replied, "Yes, I would."

Mario Merola, the Bronx District Attorney stated that he would request an appeal of the ruling.

One of Mrs. Bumpurs' seven children commented on the ruling by saying, "The judge and the police department are saying, 'if you're Black, then there's no justice.' "

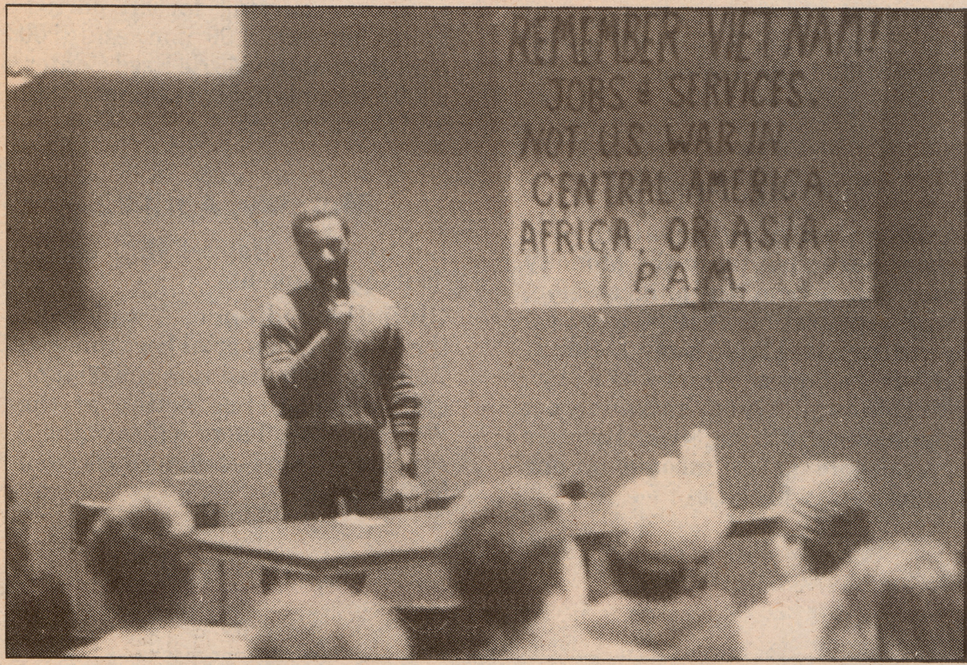
Last Oct. 29, six policemen were summoned to Mrs. Bumpurs' apartment in Morris Heights, a poor section of the Bronx, for the purpose of evicting the grandmother who supposedly was four months behind in her rent. The Housing Authority, notorious for calling the police as well as the Emergency Service Unit to carry out many evictions of the poor and the mentally ill, made the call under the assumption that Bumpurs had been diagnosed as "psychotic."

The policemen entered her apartment with a metal bar, plastic shields and a shotgun. A surprised and shocked Mrs. Bumpurs, understandably interested in defending herself and her dwelling, is reported by the police to have picked up a knife against the invading officers. At that point, Sullivan shotgunned Mrs. Bumpurs' hand off and then blew a gaping hole in her chest, killing her instantly.

On Jan. 31, Sullivan was indicted by a Bronx grand jury for manslaughter (instead of murder) and was never fired but given a desk job at police headquarters. Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward stated, "The majority of police officers will be supportive of the court decision and will feel as I do that it was right."

However, the majority of poor, oppressed and progressive people in New York City did not feel that way. Many were asking themselves, "Why did the cops have to kill Mrs. Bumpurs. If Mrs. Bumpurs had been white and the cops Black, would the outcome have been the same?" Many demonstrations were held in the city demanding justice for Bumpurs.

The case of Eleanor Bumpurs proves once again what life in the U.S. is all about for oppressed and poor people. The Bumpurs case exposes again that the judicial system is part and parcel of a racist, rotten, bigoted system that indicts the victims of police brutality like Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Willie Turks, and the four Black teenagers shot by racist Bernhard Goetz instead of the real criminals like the courts and the cops and other racists. Only the struggle of all oppressed and working people for a new society will bring about real justice for the Eleanor Bumpurs of the world.



Larry Holmes speaking at Hunter College. WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

Hunter College PAM meeting examines lessons of Viet Nam

By Angel Parker

NEW YORK, April 12—Why are the Pentagon, Hollywood and TV networks rewriting the history of the Viet Nam war? This and many other questions were answered at a forum called by the Hunter College chapter of the People's Anti-War Mobilization.

Larry Holmes and Deirdre Griswold addressed the receptive audience of 125, mostly students, about the truth behind the criminal U.S. war in Viet Nam.

The meeting opened with a call for solidarity with the Columbia University students on strike against apartheid, and recognition of a revival of militant campus activism.

Holmes, who was drafted out of Hunter in 1971, spoke of the tremendous politicizing effect the war had on people. He stated, "The real legacy of the Viet Nam war is that the capitalist system was exposed for all its criminality and inhumanity. No longer did people trust the government; they became and remain instinctively anti-war."

Griswold, an organizer of the first demonstration against the U.S. war in Viet Nam in 1962, spoke about the lies used to justify the war, and of the lessons learned by the anti-war movement. "In the efforts to build a struggle against war, especially imperialist war, we come up against the same people who run our lives in many other ways—the Trumps, Mobil Oil, GM, Citicorp—the people who pick the political leaders, who make decisions for us. We need to build a struggle for a society that meets our needs and an economy that does more than just make the stock market look good."

A slide show was presented of the U.S. intervention in Viet Nam, with special coverage of both the liberation struggle there and movements sparked to higher militancy here, especially for Black liberation.

Viet Nam anniversary meeting slated in NYC

IN NEW YORK City on May 5 a coalition of progressive organizations and individuals will hold a political event to mark the historic April 30 victory ten years ago in Viet Nam. The event will talk about the struggle to end the war in Viet Nam as well as draw the parallels and lessons for today's anti-war activists.

The event will feature many speakers including the Viet Nam's Ambassador to the UN, representatives of Nicaragua and the FDR-FMLN of El Salvador, Mel King, Dave Dellinger, and a Viet Nam veteran. Holly Near, Roy Brown and a Vietnamese musician will make musical presentations.

The event will be at Washington Irving High School, 16th St. and Irving Place, May 5, at 2 p.m. Tickets are available from the Viet Nam 10th Anniversary Committee, the coalition sponsoring the program, for $5 (less for low income). For further information call the coalition at (212) 286-0396 or Workers World at (212)255-0352.

—Enver Hoxha

Continued from page 12

the technological and scientific revolutions of this century.

All this will redound to the collective well-being and strengthening of the socialist community and the many oppressed nations suffering the yoke of both neo-colonialist as well as old-fashioned imperialist oppression.

Long live the Albanian Revolution!

Although it is more than 40 years since Albania was liberated from the Nazi fascist yoke, it was for centuries before that an oppressed country, again and again the object of ravages by the great imperialist powers, which included the Turkish empire. Yet Albania has triumphed over them all; it has survived for 40 years and has succeeded in warding off both the attacks of imperialism and its blandishments as well.

That it has made mistakes no less than other socialist countries has to be understood in light of its position as a small socialist country, trying to defend its revolution with the best weapons history has made available to it.

Regardless of all existing ideological differences, we say: Long live the Albanian Revolution! We said this at the beginning of the struggle between the socialist countries and we reaffirm it today.

Long live the Albanian struggle to maintain independence from imperialism! Long live Albania's effort at socialist construction!

We look forward to the reunification of all the socialist countries in a socialist commonwealth of nations based upon equality, independence, sovereignty and noninterference in their internal affairs. The downfall of the imperialist system and the victory of the world socialist revolution are absolutely inevitable.

—Economic crises

Continued from page 13

when it hits the service sector. The service sector responds more slowly, but nonetheless it is subject to the same laws that govern capitalist development as a whole.

The growth of the service sector is not a new phenomenon. It has grown side by side with basic capitalist industries. In the most recent crises between the sixties and the eighties, it has shown that it responds to the same laws of the capitalist economy, but more slowly. Because of its tardy character, it is bound to experience even more violent paroxysms.

The development of a diversity of new credit devices has the effect of accelerating the pace of monetary manipulation, but it cannot solve the disproportion in the economy which capital, that is, value used to produce surplus value, creates spontaneously. Capital can't help expanding, but by the same token it cannot forestall an economic contraction either.

State intervention makes it worse

Capitalist government intervention exacerbates the problem. It doesn't solve it. In this epoch it leads more and more to diverting the economic crisis into military adventures.

What is the real reason the U.S. military machine is poised in Honduras at this moment? What's the real background to the feverish efforts made by the Reagan administration to get $14 million for the counter-revolutionary elements poised against Nicaragua? One should seek for the deeper causes in the anatomy of the capitalist system, in the relentless, insatiable drive for super-profits which in this century has invariably led to military expeditions, counter-revolutionary wars of intervention and ever more serious threats of nuclear war.

This book examines the special relationship with the state that has allowed the Klan to exist for over a century, despite its criminal history of lynchings, murders and intimidation. How can the Klan be fought? The author reviews the lessons of several significant anti-Klan demonstrations. He shows how the Klan's resurgence in recent years is related to the deepening economic crisis—a crisis which is also generating a consciousness and militancy among Blacks and whites that can stop the Klan in its tracks.

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workers world

April Actions: What's happening and where

Friday, April 19

Picket South African Embassy. Religious community participation in ongoing picket and civil disobedience at 30th St. and Massachusetts Ave., NW, between 3:30 and 5:30 p.m.

Multi-faith service. Built around the four themes of the April Actions, the service will be held at the National City Christian Church at Thomas Circle, beginning at 7:00 p.m. Followed by candlelight procession to the Sanctuary Church on Luther Place.

Saturday, April 20

Festival of Resistance. From 10:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. on the Ellipse, six stages will host Andean musicians, African dancers, poets, theater, Reggae Bands and more.

Mass march and rallies. From 12:30 to 1:00 p.m. a rally will kick off the march. At 1:00 the march will start from the Ellipse, go past the White House, through downtown, encircle the Capitol, and to the west side of the Capitol. From 4:00 to 5:00 p.m. there will be a final rally on the west side of the Capitol.

Fundraising concert. Gil Scott-Heron and other artists will entertain to benefit the April Actions Coalition at Departmental Auditorium, 12th and Constitution, at 8:00 p.m. Tickets are $10, $5 for unemployed, students, seniors.

Sunday, April 21

Lobby training session. For those participating in the Monday lobby, a 6 hour training session, with registration at 10:00 a.m., beginning at 11:30 a.m. Held at Georgetown University, McDonough Gym, entrance off Canal Road. $15 fee, $5 for students and people on low income, no one turned away for lack of fee.

Civil disobedience training session. From 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., solidarity meeting for all participants between 4:00 p.m. and 5:00 p.m. Held at the Marie Reed Center, 2200 Champlain St., NW, near 18th and California St.

Monday, April 22

Lobby Day. Capitol Hill. Individual appointments.

Civil disobedience. A walk from the Lincoln Memorial beginning at 7:30 a.m. will lead into a 9:00 a.m. civil disobedience action at the White House. There will also be a support rally in Lafayette Park from 9:00 a.m. on.

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WW PHOTO: SUSAN ROTGARD

The TV film of the South African Revolution doesn't lie. But the liars who narrate the film distort the picture. The snapshot of a Nicaraguan leader is on the spot. But the caption is written by a contra supporter. In the bewildering mass of facts and fiction on the nightly news and big business dailies, its hard to find the truth. For this search Workers World can help. We're in the action in Columbia and Berkeley; we're on the mark on South Africa and Central America. A weekly newspaper in existence for over 25 years, Workers World provides the analytical thread to sort out the facts and to debunk the fiction. And if you're in the struggle against war and apartheid, for jobs and justice, Workers World is a friend in the battle. Don't sit-in without it.

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